

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Transit workers hit pact: 'We got nothing'

All NYC labor has stake in their fight

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—Transit workers here are frustrated and angry about the miserly contract terms accepted by their union leadership April 1.

"I think it stinks" said David Presbury, a subway worker interviewed by the *Militant* at the Times Square station.

"We haven't had a raise in four years, and now they are offering us 6 percent for the next two years. That's nothing. We will end up behind where we are now."

Don Aponte agreed. "We were sold out," he said. "The city administration is trying to say that we got a good contract because we have a strong union. But we got nothing."

The last-minute agreement by leaders of the Transport Workers Union put off a strike by 33,000 bus drivers and subway workers that could have closed the city down tight.

Now transit workers supposedly have the right to vote on the contract in a mail ballot. But union officials are evasive about just when and how the voting will take place.

Meanwhile city and federal officials are condemning the transit pact as "too expensive" and warning that other city workers can expect to get *even less*.

"What the transit workers end up with will directly affect more than 200,000 other municipal employees whose own contracts are now being negotiated," says Ray Markey, a leader

of Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. "In fact, all working people in New York have a stake in helping the transit workers turn back the assault on their union."

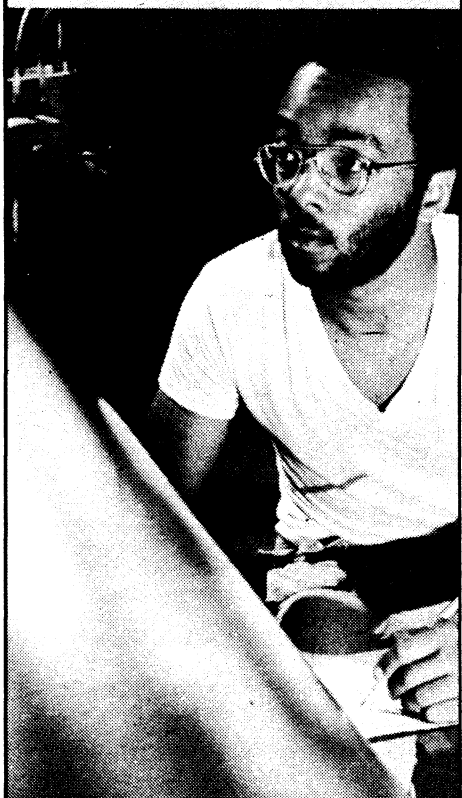
Markey is running for president of Local 1930, which represents 1,400 library workers. He is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and—as a delegate to AFSCME District Council 37 and to the New York Central Labor Council—is well known as a spokesperson for socialist views.

"AFSCME, the Teamsters, the teachers, and all municipal unions should be making it clear that we support the right of the transit

Continued on page 4

Layoffs and job bias in steel

—PAGE 12



Israeli war drive fuels mass protest in Tel Aviv



Between 30,000 and 45,000 demonstrators demanded 'Peace Now' in Tel Aviv April 1 in largest anti-government demonstration in Israel's history. See page 18.

Thirty years of Zionist terror

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March April 15

The U.S. Supreme Court is now reviewing the California Supreme Court *Bakke* decision, which struck down a special minority admissions program at a state medical school. The principle involved is a vital one—whether Blacks, other oppressed minorities, and women are entitled to affirmative action. Without these special programs to combat discrimination, the promise of full equality will remain an empty one.

All working people have a stake in this fight. Affirmative action blunts one of the main weapons the employers use to pit workers against each other—race and sex discrimination. The National Coalition to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision and other groups are sponsoring a march in Washington, D.C., on April 15 to demand that the Supreme Court overturn *Bakke*. We urge our readers to be there.

Hypocrisy on Carter's tour

Commenting on President Carter's trip to Africa and Latin America, *Time* magazine said: "It gave the President an opportunity to restate his concern about human rights overseas. . . ."

It also gave the world's people another chance to see the gap between Carter's hypocritical rhetoric and his actions.

Not surprisingly, attention in this regard was focused on Brazil. The Brazilian military dictatorship has a long and bloody history. Semiofficial "death squads" to murder trade unionists and political dissidents, suppression of the most basic democratic rights, and the consistent use of torture are some of the practices that have marked the regime.

Many in the Brazilian military, armed and trained by the U.S. government, felt at the beginning of Carter's visit that Washington had "betrayed" them, according to *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Daniel South-erland.

Southerland explained March 31 that "Mr. Carter's statements on human rights looked to the Brazilian military like a cold-war tactic, which had a certain usefulness for the U.S. as a propaganda tool against the Soviet Union

but which ought not to be used against Brazil."

Carter was quick to reassure his hosts that this was precisely the case. He told reporters in Brasilia March 30 that "the major factors which find us in harmony with Brazil far transcend, are much more important, than the differences that have been published between our approach to human rights, for instance. . . ."

What are a few death squads between friends?

Surely such differences are transcended by other, "major factors." As Carter noted a bit later in his news conference:

"Brazil is a major trading partner of the United States in commercial goods and also in loans and, I might say, in timely repayments. The debt of Brazil is very manageable. The loans of American banks to Brazil are sound. Additional loans are being pursued by the American banks as an excellent advantage for their future investments in Brazil based on the strength of your country."

The president concluded that any attempts to limit U.S. loans and investment in Brazil on account of the regime's human rights record "would be inconceivable to me," adding: "This would violate the principles of our own free-enterprise system."

Summarizing the accomplishments of Carter's visit, *New York Times* reporter David Vidal noted April 1 that it "ended in a conciliatory climate that has pleasantly surprised the military Government and opened the way to an improvement in relations. . . ."

From Brazil, Carter went to Nigeria, where he talked about U.S. support for "progressive and peaceful change" in South Africa.

Nigerian chief of state Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo took note of Washington's "little gestures of disengagement" from the apartheid regime in South Africa. He also spoke of "our deep concern about the present level of foreign collaboration with the South African regime, particularly in economic and military matters."

With billions of dollars of direct U.S. investment in South Africa, and a flourishing U.S.-South African trade relationship, Washington has consistently opposed any economic sanctions against the white-minority regime.

Responding to Obasanjo's pointed remarks, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's national security adviser, told reporters April 2 that sanc-

tions are not a good idea because "political change may be beginning to occur within South Africa" without them.

This is a self-serving lie. It is on a par with Carter's excuse that Washington's tyrannical allies in Brazil and Iran are improving their record on human rights and deserve ongoing aid.

The truth is that the human rights violations, like apartheid, continue. *And they could not go on without the direct military and economic support of U.S. imperialism.*

Despite this, the headlines in the big-business media continue to portray Carter as a fighter for human rights and an opponent of white-minority rule in Africa. This is only to be expected. Neither the capitalist media nor Carter could get by on the truth.

N.Y. abortion rights

In April 1970, New York became the first state to give women the right to choose abortion. Now New York has become another battleground in the fight for abortion rights.

About 50,000 women—one out of every three New York women seeking abortions—may lose that right. That will be the result if the state ends its \$16 million funding for poor women's abortions.

Emboldened by the passage of the federal Hyde amendment and the Supreme Court's approval of it, legislators tacked an anti-abortion amendment onto the state budget on March 31. The amendment is even more restrictive than the federal fund cutoff.

The reactionary amendment was introduced by "right to life" Sen. James Donovan, the man who also led the fight for the death penalty in New York.

The state assembly rejected the abortion fund cutoff, but the senate passed it. The two houses are now debating a compromise.

In the meantime the debate over the anti-abortion amendment is being used to delay payment of \$7.2 billion in social funds. It is holding hostage schools, clinics, and welfare benefits.

As ransom, the anti-abortionists demand that poor women give up the right to abortion.

This attack—the latest in a series of escalated attacks across the country—shows that no woman's right to choose is safe. All supporters of legal abortion should unite to answer the anti-abortion offensive.

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Marroquin speaks at N.Y. shipyard

Welders, shipfitters, and other workers at Brooklyn Navy Yard gathered for a lunch-hour rally to hear Héctor Marroquín explain his fight against deportation to Mexico. **Page 11.**

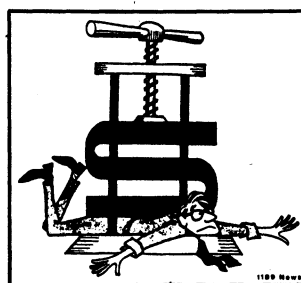
Steel bosses' price-gouging fraud

Mark Zola, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, exposes the lie that the coal strike made higher steel prices necessary. **Page 7.**



Socialist vs. Udall

Arizona Democrat Morris Udall claims to be a friend of women. But socialist candidate Betsy McDonald set the record straight in a recent face-to-face confrontation. **Page 20.**



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Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$15.00 a year, outside U.S. \$20.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$42.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain and Ireland: £2.00 for ten issues, £4.50 for six months, £8.50 for one year. Posted from London to Continental Europe: £2.50 for ten issues, £6.00 for six months, £11.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE18LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Plant-gate sales reach new readers

By Nelson Blackstock

Reports coming in from cities around the country show substantial progress in expanding plant-gate sales during the first two weeks of the national sales drive.

Set to last ten weeks—through the issue dated May 26—the drive will enter its fourth week with sales of this issue.

The Socialist Workers Party launched the drive with a primary aim of stepping up and regularizing plant-gate sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the biweekly Spanish-language socialist magazine. Practically every city on the chart has made headway in this.

The focus on plant-gate sales is in line with the party's high priority on talking about socialist ideas to industrial workers. The same meeting of the SWP National Committee that set the sales drive also outlined a perspective of having more party members get jobs in industry.

In many cities the total number of weekly plant-gate sales has doubled or tripled. While in some cases the results of these sales are now modest, experience from other cities tells us that regular weekly sales at the same location produces both regular customers and new readers as the weeks go by.

Not all plant-gate sales, however, are modest—as Caroline Fowlkes tells us in this letter from Phoenix:

"Every Wednesday our bus-driver members, who work split days, go off to the copper mines to sell. They always sell out everything, including *PMs*. Although it was hard at first to stop the miners as they drove off the mine premises, the idea of wearing signs solved that problem easily. We've found it's a must for all plant-gate sales. Last week we sold sixty-eight copies at mines and at union meetings. Our sales have picked up drastically, and we have met our goals three weeks in a row."

Since the goal of the drive is to meet the sales target each and every week, Phoenix is on the right track. Their idea of displaying a big, attention-grabbing sign during plant-gate sales has produced results elsewhere. It's an idea well worth copying.

Pat Wright, SWP candidate for governor of Ohio and a Black feminist, led a team to Dillies Bottom and Shady-side, two Ohio coal-mining communities, on March 30-31. Showing that miners want to read what the *Militant* is saying after the close of their long strike, the team sold forty-eight papers and five subscriptions.

Socialists in Houston have been consistently selling twenty-five papers a week at the Hughes Tool plant there. They found no drop in sales when *Militant* headlines switched from featuring news of the coal strike—an issue of more direct concern to unionists—to events in the Mideast.

Big sales set for special miners issue

An all-out sales effort has been set for a coming issue of the *'Militant'* that will examine the impact and lessons of the recent miners' strike.

The strike was the most significant confrontation between the bosses and the labor movement in almost three decades. It is rich in lessons both for trade unionists and all those interested in combating the injustices of this society.

The Socialist Workers Party has decided to get this special issue into the hands of as many working people as possible, both at their jobs and in their communities.

The aim is to expand sales well above the normal weekly quotas set for the ten-week sales drive.

The big sales week for this *'Militant'*, the issue after next, will begin on Saturday, April 22.

Another good sales spot in Houston has been the Chicano community. That's been true for both the *Militant* and *PM*. And they say that non-Spanish speaking salespeople have had no trouble at all selling the magazine there.

While there are two other areas where the drive seems to be registering progress at this stage—on campus and at political meetings—there is one major lag in the campaign. That's in sales to working people on street corners and in shopping centers in the communities where they live and shop.

In addition to the need to get sales on a campaign footing in some cities, boosting community sales is the next step needed to push forward the drive as a whole.

We'll have more on this aspect of the drive in coming issues—including a look at why it's so important to maintain a visible presence of the socialist press on the streets of cities throughout this country.

This week we can report on two cities that have been successful at reaching working people where they live.

In Tacoma, door-to-door sales on Saturday have been an important component of the SWP branch's sales.

Pittsburgh has had good sales to Black steelworkers in three small towns adjacent to the city. For the most part, the sales have been door to door in housing projects.

Weekly sales results

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Dallas	115	131	10	19	125	150	120.0
Phoenix	75	97	10	3	85	100	117.6
Cincinnati	75	86			75	86	114.6
Albany	60	64			60	64	106.6
Salt Lake City	90	101	10	5	100	106	106.0
Portland	90	94			90	94	104.4
Miami	90	94	10	10	100	104	104.0
St. Paul	40	41			40	41	102.5
Louisville	100	102			100	102	102.0
Boston	165	191	25		190	191	100.5
New York	575	625	75	26	650	651	100.1
Indianapolis	100	100			100	100	100.0
Raleigh	75	75			75	75	100.0
Tacoma	90	92	10		100	92	92.0
Albuquerque	115	108	10	2	125	110	88.0
Pittsburgh	125	100			125	100	80.0
Minneapolis	100	76			100	76	76.0
San Antonio	100	78	10	5	110	83	75.4
Los Angeles	400	295	100	73	500	368	73.6
Cleveland	150	109			150	109	72.6
San Francisco	220	170	15		235	170	72.3
Baltimore	100	71			100	71	71.0
Houston	270	198	30	14	300	212	70.6
Kansas City	100	69		1	100	70	70.0
Washington, D.C.	230	124	20	42	250	166	66.4
New Orleans	150	93			150	93	62.0
Chicago	282	177	18	6	300	183	61.0
San Diego	100	66	25	10	125	76	60.8
Berkeley	138	84	12	2	150	86	57.3
Newark	150	85			150	85	56.6
Morgantown	100	55			100	55	55.0
Atlanta	300	150			300	150	50.0
Oakland	150	70			150	70	46.6
San Jose	115	53	10	5	125	58	46.4
Seattle	150	66		2	150	68	45.3
Philadelphia	250	100			250	100	40.0
Toledo	75	26			75	26	34.6
Milwaukee	125	42			125	42	33.6
St. Louis	200	67			200	67	33.5
Denver	105	25	5	1	110	26	23.6
Detroit*	300				300		0.0
TOTALS	6340	4450	405	226	6745	4676	69.4%

*Not participating in drive this week due to petitioning to put SWP on ballot.

Message from a worker

The Brooklyn Navy Yard has been the scene of many *Militant* sales for New York socialists—both inside, to co-workers and outside, at the entrance.

A good example of the impact such sales can have is the message from a Black Navy Yard worker that was read to an April 1 New York rally launching the state Socialist Workers Party election campaign:

"So far I know the SWP mainly

through your paper, the *Militant*. I like what I have seen. The *Militant* really projects what's happening to the working class. It shows what capitalism does to the masses.

"Whether you want to know about the coal miners' strike, the situation in Italy, or the war in the Middle East, the *Militant* is the only paper that tells you what is really going on.

"I wish you the best of luck in your campaign."

Coming... a special issue of the *Militant* on...

THE MEANING OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

The impact of the coal strike reached far beyond the coalfields. It shook a lot of things up—in the government, the corporations, the unions.

The powerful fight by the miners fired the imagination of workers from coast to coast. They set an example that won't soon be forgotten.

What repercussions will this strike have for every working person struggling for a decent living? The answer will be explored in this special issue.

On sale April 22.



NY transit workers pact : 'We got nothing'

Continued from front page

workers to vote this contract down if they don't like it," Markey said.

"They have a right to vote their conscience, free from threats and intimidation by Mayor Koch and the Transit Authority. They have a right to strike if they decide that's necessary.

"We should be saying loud and clear," Markey declared, "that if the transit workers choose to reject this agreement and fight for a better one, the responsibility for any disruption of transit services falls squarely on Koch and the other Democratic and Republican politicians, who are demanding that workers pay the cost of the so-called fiscal crisis."

TWU International President Matthew Guinan is calling the contract offer "a damned good settlement" and says he's "proud of it."

Yet the exact terms are being kept a closely guarded secret by city and union officials alike. The wage increase is reportedly 6 percent over two years. Prices are generally expected to rise at least twice that much over the same period.

Moreover, during the negotiations union officials explained that a 17 percent increase was needed just to catch up with what TWU members have lost to inflation during their past contract.

There will also be a \$250 lump-sum payment on ratification. But this money—and more—is *already owed* to transit workers in cost-of-living adjustments earned under the previous contract. The payments have been held back by the city's Emergency Financial Control Board in violation of the union contract.

A one-time cost-of-living adjustment is provided in the new contract. But this won't be paid until July 1979 and then only out of so-called productivity savings approved by the tight-fisted EFCB.

Under similar arrangements signed into the contracts of 160,000 other city employees in 1976, the EFCB is currently holding back \$145 million in cost-of-living adjustments.

The new agreement will give bus drivers two days of sick leave for the first time. But this is at the expense of subway workers, who will have to give up two days of sick leave.

And it's not known whether other "givebacks" of union benefits were also agreed to by union officials.

"The worst thing about the contract," Don Aponte told the *Militant*, "is that the union leadership agreed to part-time workers. They say this will provide jobs, but we don't even know if these workers will be given any job benefits or if they will even be covered under the TWU contract.

"What's to stop the Transit Authority from using more and more part-time employees and taking the jobs away from union members?"

Koch

Leading up to the April 1 strike deadline, Mayor Ed Koch insisted he had to be involved in negotiations. Now, however, Koch claims that there can be "no linkage" between the TWU's terms and the contracts being negotiated with other city unions.

Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wisc.), head of the Senate Banking Committee, says it would be "out-rageous" if the new transit pact serves as a model.

Despite threats from Washington and city hall, more than two-thirds of the transit workers interviewed by the *New York Post* say they'll vote against the new contract.

This sentiment among the increasingly Black and Puerto Rican ranks of the TWU brings them into a collision course with the conservative, largely white union leadership.

Guinan and other top TWU officials—trying to placate the militant mood among the union

membership—are proclaiming the new contract as a victory won through their willingness to stand up to the boss.

But TWU members who spoke to the *Militant* were skeptical of the leadership's claims.

Voting

One problem they stressed is that voting on the contract will be carried out by mail.

Henry Long, a clerk who works at the Seventy-ninth Street and Broadway station said, "Everybody's talking about the mail-in vote. They think it's going to be rigged."

Don Aponte remarked, "I can write 'Go to Hell' on the ballot, and they will still count it as a 'yes' vote."

Another sore point is that members are not sure if they will get an actual copy of the proposed contract with their ballots. They may get only a "summary" drawn up by a union bureaucracy that is eager for ratification.

"Lack of union democracy is clearly a big problem for the transit workers," Ray Markey commented. "It especially stands out in contrast to the recent coal miners' strike.

"The miners have won the right to receive an exact copy of any contract, hold meetings to discuss it, and then vote."

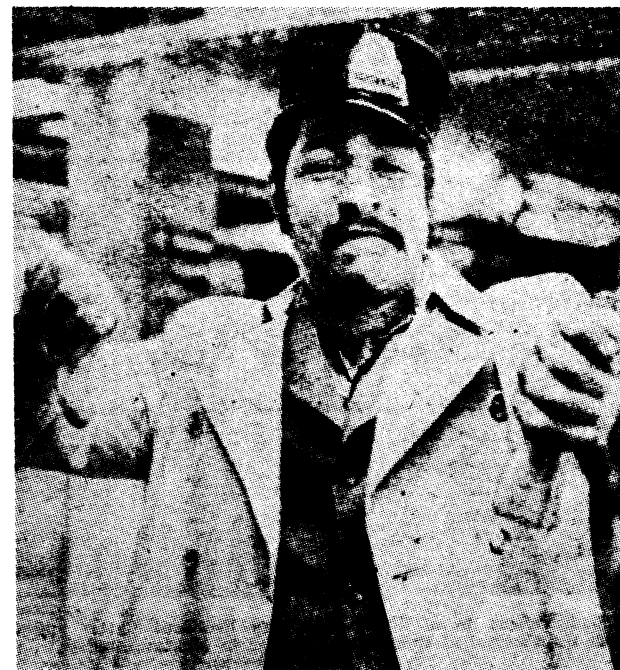
Solidarity

"When top leaders of the United Mine Workers accepted a rotten contract from the bosses, the ranks and local leaders held mass meetings and demonstrations in protest. They were able to send back two contract offers and finally forced the coal bosses to come up with somewhat better terms."

Markey also noted that support from other unions was a big factor helping the miners hold out for a better contract.

"We should be organizing to express our support for the transit workers now," Markey said. "So they hear their union brothers and sisters, not just the antilabor propaganda of the corporations and city hall.

"When transit workers fight for a decent contract, they are also fighting for safer, cleaner transportation for the rest of us," Markey said. "The old union motto, 'An injury to one is an injury to all,' has never been more appropriate."



Militant/Anne Teesdale

Most TWU members who spoke with *'Militant'* reporters blasted proposed new contract.

NYC rally to mark Trotsky 'Writings'

Pathfinder Press has announced a special discount on the twelve-volume *Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1929-40* series, which will be completed this month with the publication of *Writings (1936-37)*. The discount will be 25 percent off for all twelve volumes and 20 percent off for any three or more.

The discount will go into effect April 30 at the New York City rally to celebrate the completion of the series. It will continue through August. (Orders can be placed with Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.)

In addition, people who attend the April 30 rally will be able to take part in a raffle for a full clothbound set of the *Writings*; a \$5.00 raffle ticket may win the set, whose retail value is \$300.

The program at the rally will include Susan Lamont and Doug Jenness of the Socialist Workers Party Political Committee; George Breit-

man, coeditor of the *Writings* series; Osborne Hart of the Young Socialist Alliance; and messages from around the world. A reception will follow the program.

The rally will be held at the Ukrainian National Home, 140 Second Avenue (at East Ninth Street) at 3:00 p.m. Admission is three dollars.

The rally is the culmination of a weekend of classes sponsored by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party and the New York University Young Socialist Alliance.

The classes, organized around the theme, "Fifty Years of American Trotskyism," will take place April 28 and 29 at Loeb Student Center at NYU. Admission for the series is three dollars.

For further information, call or write the SWP, 853 Broadway, Suite 412, New York, New York 10003; phone: (212) 982-5963.

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Rally launches '78 campaign

NY socialists focus on city crisis fightback

By Peter Seidman

NEW YORK—Down to the wire negotiations between the Transport Workers Union and the Transit Authority had left many of the 215 people who attended a Socialist Workers Party campaign rally April 1 uncertain as to whether they'd be able to get there at all.

Although an agreement was finally reached (see story on front page), it in no way put an end to the new antilabor offensive by federal, state, and city officials.

That's why the socialists' rally had as its central theme: "Defend New York's municipal workers!"

New York workers are on the front lines of a battle that will affect working people nationwide, explained Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for governor of New York.

"For thirty years," she said, "workers have been able to gradually improve our standard of living. But now the employers are telling us to 'give back' the benefits our unions have already won."

Feeley gave the example of the coal miners, whose union struggles in the past won them and their families a free health-care plan.

In the recent coal strike, the operators demanded that the miners give up this free medical care. "The miners were denounced as being selfish, causing the layoffs of other workers, and driving up coal and other energy prices," Feeley explained.

But the bosses' propaganda fell flat, she said. "Working people everywhere knew they had a stake in the gains the miners were struggling to defend. The miners were seen as *heroes* by the rest of their class."

The miners, Feeley said, were able to



Militant photos by Susan Ellis and Lou Howort
1978 NEW YORK SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATES: Dianne Feeley for governor (right); Kevin Kellogg for lieutenant governor (top left); Diane Shur for U.S. Congress from District Twenty-eight in Albany (center left); and Ken Miliner for U.S. Congress from District Nineteen in New York City.

beat back the bosses' attacks on their rights by *mobilizing* that solidarity.

Feeley declared that the lessons of how the miners fought back would be at the heart of the 1978 New York State SWP campaign.

She said the bosses are aiming their initial blows most heavily at Blacks, women, and other less privileged workers, "to divide the labor movement and weaken its ability to fight back."

One example, she noted, was the March 31 vote by the New York State Senate denying Medicaid funding for abortion.

Another rally speaker, Ken Miliner,

detailed other attacks directed against Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Miliner gave a fund appeal that raised more than \$5,000 from rally participants. The rally marked the opening of his campaign for U.S. Congress from New York City's Nineteenth District.

Feeley outlined a strategy the labor movement could follow to answer the bosses' offensive.

"Let's begin by fighting the rulers' divide-and-rule schemes," she said.

"Second," Feeley continued, "we need to revitalize and democratize the trade unions so they are capable of turning back the bosses' attacks."

Third, Feeley stressed, "it doesn't

make sense to vote on election day for the Democrats and Republicans, whose profits-first policies we struggle against all year long. Labor needs to have its own party so it can fight back effectively in the *political* arena."

Feeley said the SWP is campaigning to "build a mass movement, a powerful movement of the majority of the American people—the working class and its allies—to change this society."

"This is the only way it can be done. It can't be done by relying on Democrats. It can't be done by the action of a small minority. It can only be done by the masses of the American people acting in their own interest to bring about the rule of the majority."

Kevin Kellogg, an activist in the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in the Albany area, also spoke at the rally.

Kellogg is the SWP's candidate for lieutenant governor. He denounced U.S. aid to Israel and called for the immediate withdrawal of Zionist forces from Lebanon. He also blasted the proposed Panama Canal treaties, calling for the United States to get out of Panama.

Others who spoke at the rally were: Diane Shur, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Albany's Twenty-eighth District; Lois Morris, a delegate in District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; Ray Markey (see story below); Brian Avery, a member of the International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades of New York City; Marion Gladhill, a member of the Seafarers' International Union; Mike Tormey, a socialist candidate for student government at the College of Staten Island; and Neter Brooks, of the New York City Unemployed and Welfare Council.

'Municipal workers can learn from miners'

The following is based on the speech given by Ray Markey at the New York Socialist Workers Party campaign rally April 1. Markey is a candidate for president of Local 1930, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Local 1930 represents 1,400 library workers in New York. Markey is a delegate to AFSCME District Council 37 and to the New York City Central Labor Council.

Last Sunday the *New York Times* ran a rather frank article. The headline read: "Bigger Concessions from Unions Sought. Management Seeking 'Givebacks' in New Bargaining Trend."

The city wants us to "give back," so it can "give to"—give to the corporations, give to the banks, give to the rich.

While they tell us there is "no money" for working people, the Democratic and Republican politicians in city hall fork over more than \$2 billion a year in tax-free interest payments to Wall Street bankers. That's the biggest item in the city's budget.

We're going into a new period. More and more, our standard of living and our union rights are under attack.

The bankers and capitalist politicians proclaim a fiscal crisis. They call for "equality of sacrifice."

But it's us who get laid off. It's our wages that get frozen.

Meanwhile, profits are up, and the banks, big realtors, and major corporations get huge new tax reductions.

It doesn't seem very equal to me or to anybody else I know.

New York municipal workers can learn something from the way the coal miners fought back against the bosses' attacks.

The coal miners thought they had some rights, some rights they had fought for and won over the years. They were determined to keep them.

New York workers also have some rights. Like the miners, we ought to fight to keep them.

All the unionists in New York should get together and discuss how, in a united way, we can defend our rights against city hall's latest offensive.

One thing we could do is call a big demonstration in front of city hall of all the municipal workers. There would be tens of thousands of us there sending Governor Carey and Mayor Koch a message: "We're the ones that make this city run. And we can also make it stop."

The bankers, businessmen, and capitalist politicians are all united. They have their own political parties—the Democrats and Republicans, and in New York their Liberals and Conservatives. The rich control and run these parties. These parties represent *them*.

The bosses have their parties. Workers need a party of our own as well. Labor needs its own party—a party that *we* control, that works in our interest.

The Democratic Party tries to convince us that it's a party for everybody. The Democrats say we should all get together—the workers and the bosses—in the bosses' party.



RAY MARKEY Militant/Lou Howort

But we don't get together with the bosses on the picket lines. We picket *against* the bosses.

We don't get together with the bosses in a strike. We strike *against* them.

We haven't gotten together with them in this fiscal crisis. They take and we give.

So why should we get together with them on the political level? We should not. Because until labor breaks away from the bosses' political parties, labor will be trapped.

We need to organize our own power and organize our own party.

I'm running to become president of my local because I think the strategy put forward by the current president of Local 1930; as well as by Victor Gotbaum, president of District Coun-

cil 37; Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers; and the leaders of other New York municipal unions is wrong.

Their strategy has put us in the bad position we're now in. That's why we need a new union leadership with a new strategy. A strategy for getting together and building a left wing that can mobilize the power of the labor movement against the bosses.

We need a strategy that can unite the labor movement with its allies in defense of a decent standard of living and decent social services for all New Yorkers.

But Gotbaum, Shanker, and the other labor misleaders fall for the government's divide-and-rule strategy instead.

They pit the narrow interests of the more privileged workers against those of the oppressed—instead of uniting the unions and reaching out to our potential allies by supporting the struggles of the Black and Puerto Rican communities, women, students, and the unemployed.

We need a different strategy than Gotbaum and Shanker's. We need a fighting strategy. An independent strategy. A solidarity strategy. A union democracy strategy. A labor party strategy.

That's what we need, and that's my message in this campaign.

I also have another message. I'm telling people that they should vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates. These are the candidates who stand for what labor needs. These are candidates who tell the truth and then fight for it.

Phila. cops threaten group with bloodbath

By Shafiq Abdulahad

PHILADELPHIA—Two hundred fifty heavily armed cops are continuing their occupation of a four-block area here surrounding the live-in headquarters of MOVE, a predominantly Black organization targeted by Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo for harassment and victimization. MOVE is a countercultural group that calls for a return to "the natural order of things."

The police blockade began March 16 with 1,000 cops. Rizzo ordered the occupation to starve out MOVE members to serve arrest warrants on them. Electricity and water have also been shut off.

Drexel University and other interests here want MOVE evicted to prepare for "urban renewal" and university expansion.

Police harassment, which had already been on the upswing against the group, intensified last year. In the past eighteen months, MOVE members have been arrested more than 200 times on a variety of charges.

When cops arrived with eviction notices on May 7, 1977, MOVE members refused to leave, stating they would defend themselves with arms against police attacks. Earlier that year, MOVE charged that a police raid

had resulted in the death of an infant in the house. The organization has filed numerous complaints against Philadelphia's notoriously brutal cops.

The police never served the eviction notices, since a human blockade of 1,000 area residents formed between the cops and the MOVE house. Since then Rizzo has spent nearly \$1.5 million on a twenty-four-hour police watch on the headquarters.

The day after the latest blockade went into effect, Rizzo announced to a rally of 700 racist opponents of public housing that he would not seek a third term as mayor and that he was going to become a "national spokesman" for "white equality," or, as one local newspaper put it, for "white power."

Rizzo apparently intends to make MOVE an example of his racist promises.

There is widespread opposition to the police occupation by Black community residents and leaders. Residents of the blockaded area have been subjected to police frisks and identification checks.

Far from pursuing what Rizzo calls a "humanitarian" way to arrest the MOVE members, his cop army is prepared for an all-out confrontation, setting the stage for a potential bloodbath.



Philadelphia cops begin barricade of MOVE headquarters

Trial opens in Calif. cop entrapment case

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Trial proceedings were slated to begin here March 29 in the case of five political activists charged with illegal possession of explosives and "conspiracy." Officials charge that they planned to bomb the offices of State Sen. John Briggs, initiator of a projected California anti-gay referendum.

Evidence is being provided by two FBI agents who infiltrated the group. The case has all the earmarks of police entrapment and frame-up.

The five people, who were arrested last November 19, are said by police to be members of the Revolutionary Committee, a reported split-off from the Weather Underground.

All five pleaded innocent, charging entrapment and political persecution. Bail was initially set at \$750,000 for one of the defendants and \$500,000 each for the other four. On appeal, this was reduced to \$350,000 and \$200,000 respectively, which the defendants were still unable to post.

The five are: Judith Bissell, Leslie Mullen, Clayton Van Lydergraf, Mark Perry and Michael Justesen.

The two FBI agents, Richard Giannotti and William Reagan, reportedly have functioned in the radical movement seven and four years respectively. They surfaced to provide the

evidence in the case. According to FBI affidavits, the agents had trained the five in the use of weapons. The agents said they had received authorization directly from Attorney General Griffin Bell to deliberately mistreat them in the use of various weapons. They said this was to avoid charges of "entrapment."

The two agents were the ones who took police to a reported 100 pounds of explosives and six weapons planted in five different places.

Initially, the five were arrested on both federal and state charges. Then, without explanation, the federal charges were dropped "at least for the time being."

While the federal prosecution has been dropped, the Los Angeles FBI office continues to feed the media lurid—and somewhat contradictory—"facts" about the case.

At the time of the arrests, the FBI said the five were apprehended "hours before" Briggs's office was to be bombed. In a later version, they were arrested "two days" before.

According to the affidavit of the FBI plants, one of the five was to bicycle to Briggs's Fullerton office—about twenty-five miles from here—to plant the bomb under the office porch.

The didn't say if the bicycle had a market basket on it, or if he was to carry the bomb in his pocket.

An injury to one...

Houston cops get away with murder

Some of the former Houston cops who last year got one-dollar fines from Texas courts for murdering a young Chicano have been handed another slap on the wrist—this time by the federal government.

On March 28 a federal judge in Houston sentenced three of the cops who killed Joe Campos Torres to one year in prison. This is little more than what federal judges in the area usually give to Mexicans caught crossing the



Margaret Torres, mother of murdered Chicano, talks to reporters after sentencing.

border without permission. The three cops could have gotten life in prison for civil rights violations.

"That ain't bad at all," said one smiling Houston police officer to another after the sentencing. "They won't be there [in prison] but six months."

Chicanos reacted bitterly. "I thought the [federal] government was going to take care of everything," said Margaret Torres, the victim's mother. "It's just a slap in the face. It's just getting away with murder."

"The court has set back the civil rights of Mexican-Americans by ten years," said Rubén Bonilla, Texas director of the League of United Latin American Citizens. "We're back in the sixties, when we could get no justice."

Hundreds of people took part in a demonstration April 2 to protest the light sentence. The rally was sponsored by a broad range of Chicano groups and elected officials.

Two other Houston ex-cops still face federal charges for Torres's death.

Fred Ahmed Evans, political prisoner

Some 400 people attended funeral services for Fred Ahmed Evans in Cleveland March 4. Evans, who was a founder of the Black nationalist organization New Libya, died February 25.

Evans had been serving a life sentence on trumped-up murder charges stemming from a July 1968 police attack on Cleveland's Black community that left ten dead and fifteen wounded. That attack sparked a ghetto rebellion.

During the seven-month trial of Evans, Assistant County Prosecutor Charles Laurie admitted, "There is no direct evidence that Evans killed anybody." Another prosecutor said in closing remarks to the jury, "Let the young people in our community realize that if they join with the likes of Ahmed Evans, they too will go to the electric chair." (The death sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.)

In a telephone interview Pat Evans, daughter of Ahmed Evans, noted unanswered questions about his death. Although the hospital said he died from cancer, "the death certificate says he died from cardiac arrest, anemia, and malnutrition." She said that other prisoners told Evans's family that "he wasn't being treated right" and that in his letters Evans complained about "a funny taste in his food" and that "shots given him to ease his pain only caused more pain."

Gain for 'Los Tres'

Federal prison authorities have agreed to an October 1978 parole eligibility date for Rodolfo Sánchez, one of Los Tres del Barrio. The three Los Angeles Chicano activists were railroaded to prison by federal narcotics officials several years ago. Earlier, the national parole commissioners recommended that Sánchez not be considered for parole until 1981. The change came after Sánchez established that denial of parole was based on false information inserted in his file without his knowledge.

The three were convicted after wounding a federal agent posing as a drug pusher.

The confrontation was set up by the government when the three were active in an effort to drive pushers out of the barrio.

Joanne Little loses extradition appeal

On March 29 a New York appeals court upheld a lower court order that Joanne Little must be returned to North Carolina to finish serving a seven-to-ten-year sentence for breaking and entering. The appeals court order has been stayed pending further appeals.

Little became world famous in 1975 when she fought murder charges after defending herself from an attempted rape by a white prison guard. She fled a North Carolina prison last year to escape persecution from prison officials.

—José G. Pérez

...is an injury to all

'Coal miners not to blame'

Socialist hits 'price-gouging fraud' in steel

By Fred Larson

PITTSBURGH—Mark Zola, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, has condemned the latest round of steel price increases as "a flagrant attempt to blame coal miners for price-gouging fraud by the steel profiteers themselves."

Zola, a steel fabrication worker and member of United Steelworkers Local 2789, announced his candidacy March 30.

Zola said the steel companies and the Carter administration were acting out a "familiar, feeble charade."

"First U.S. Steel announced a \$10.50-a-ton increase," the socialist candidate said. "Carter called that 'excessive' and 'inflationary.' As soon as the other steel companies settled on a \$5.50-a-ton increase, the White House announced it was 'very pleased.'"

However, Zola noted, the government itself said the new coal contract raised steelmaking costs by only four dollars a ton.

"So the companies are adding at least a 37 percent markup that is pure profit!" he declared. "And remember, these same steel companies already raised their prices 5.5 percent in February."

"No doubt Carter and the companies are 'very pleased,'" the socialist said, "but for working people this means another inflationary bite out of our paychecks."

'Cynical hoax'

Zola termed it a "cynical hoax" to blame coal miners for these price hikes.

"In the first place," he said, "the steel companies are themselves coal mine operators. During the strike they were identified as especially hardliners, demanding that the miners give up major gains from past contracts."

"Although the miners beat back most of these take-away demands, the coal bosses succeeded in imposing cutbacks in medical benefits. These cutbacks will *save*—not cost—the coal and steel companies untold millions of dollars each year."

"There is only one reason the steel companies can get away with this monopolistic price-fixing," Zola explained. "And that is because last winter the Carter administration imposed stiff new restrictions against steel imports. The import curbs protect the companies from foreign competition and give them a free hand to jack up prices."

"The companies claimed import restrictions would create jobs for Ameri-

can steelworkers," Zola said. "That was a lie."

"We haven't seen any jobs created—just higher prices and higher profits pocketed by the companies. And then they have the nerve to blame it on the miners!"

Duquesne Light, a major utility in this area, is guilty of a similar swindle, the socialist candidate charged. During the strike Duquesne shed crocodile tears about its lack of coal and gas. It was granted an emergency rate surcharge to buy power from East Coast utilities.

Meanwhile, as a member of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, Duquesne sought to force a take-away contract on the miners.

"In effect," Zola said, "consumers were forced to subsidize Duquesne Light's profits while it tried to break the United Mine Workers."

'Why I'm running'

At his March 30 news conference, Zola said it was the coal strike that convinced him to run for governor.

"The miners were striking for things that would benefit all working people, including me as a steelworker," he said.

"They were fighting for safety in the workplace, fully paid health care, fair and equal treatment for pensioners, the right to withhold their labor when their lives were threatened, and a decent wage."

"Yet when the chips were down, not one Democratic or Republican party politician would stand behind the miners."

"While my fellow unionists and I were collecting food and money for the miners, our so-called representatives in government were protecting scab coal, granting strike surcharges to the utilities, and invoking the Taft-Hartley slave-labor law."

"I decided to run for governor," Zola said, "because I was outraged at the raw deal that the miners were getting and because I felt it was time for a candidate who would be a voice for working people."

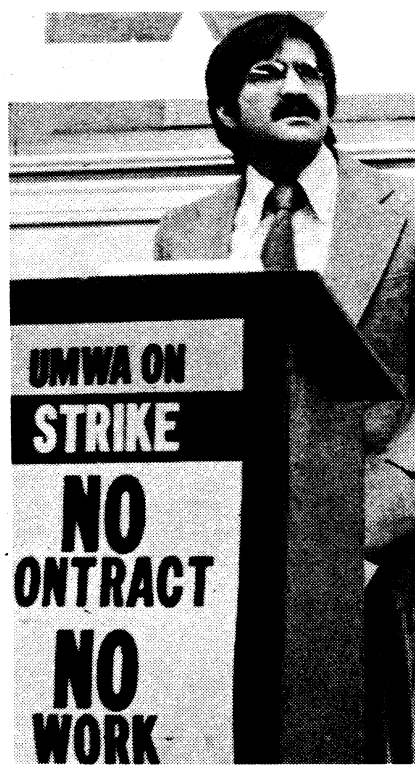
'Take aways'

"We are faced with the 'take away' at every turn," the candidate explained. "As workers we face 'take away' contract demands."

"But it is not just our employers. We face a 'take away' government as well. Services that we have come to expect are being curtailed. Transportation, education, and health-care funds are

Continued on page 25

Mark Zola for Pa. governor



Militant/Martha Harris

MARK ZOLA: 'The working class keeps the country running—the working class should run the country.'

PITTSBURGH—Mark Zola, thirty-four, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania.

Zola works as a machinist apprentice at Pittsburgh Des Moines Steel. He is an activist in United Steelworkers of America Local 2789.

Zola has been involved in the antiwar, civil rights, and labor movements in Pennsylvania for several years. He helped organize defense activities that won a new trial for Stanton Story, a young Black man falsely accused of the 1975 slaying of a Pittsburgh policeman.

Zola was a leader in the Pittsburgh area of the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign of Ed Sadowski for international president of the USWA last year.

Most recently, Zola has been active in building support among western Pennsylvania trade unionists for the striking coal miners.

Running for lieutenant governor on the Socialist Workers Party ticket is Naomi Berman, a Philadelphia secretary.

Campaigning for socialism

'I'LL USE MY CAMPAIGN TO BUILD A MOVEMENT,' Mary Pritchard told St. Louis reporters March 15. Pritchard announced her campaign as the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in the First Congressional District.

"My campaign will build a movement that can help defend victims of racist frame-ups, desegregate the schools, provide decent housing and health facilities, and fight for the dignity of labor, including full employment and the right to strike," Pritchard said.

Running with Pritchard are Glenn White for Missouri state representative, and Renita Alexander for state senate.

Pritchard, active in the Black Students Association of the University of Illinois, later became a member of the St. Louis Student Coalition Against Racism. She is an active member of the St. Louis Metro chapter of the National Organization for Women.

Alexander, a native of Atlanta, was active in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and in protests against police brutality. After moving to St. Louis she helped defend Joanne Little and later became the coordinator of the U.S. Out of Africa Committee. She has been the coordinator of the April 15 Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

White, a longtime student activist in St. Louis, was an organizer of the 1968 high school student walkouts demanding Black Studies programs. As a student at University of Missouri, Columbia, he was a leading member of the Legion of Black Collegians. He has been active in the National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson and the St. Louis chapter of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. White has been a Missouri delegate to the last three Black Political Conventions and is currently chairperson of the St. Louis Young Socialist Alliance. He is a member of the NAACP and Brotherhood of Operating Engineers.

OHIO: WHY LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY: "Not one Democratic or Republican party politician threw their support behind the mine workers," declared Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio at a March 18 rally in Cleveland.

"They stand on the side of the courts and the racists who have stalled on desegregation of the schools in city after city in Ohio. They stand on the side of the antiwoman, anti-abortion forces who fire bomb abortion clinics in Cleveland."

"They stand on the side of million-dollar tax abatements for the corporations and big business, while the Cleveland School Board threatens to close the schools for lack of money."

"If there was a labor party, the miners would have had a party to go to when the Democrats and Republicans stabbed them in the back," Wright concluded.

The rally marked submission of nominating petitions bearing 12,000 names to get Wright and her running mate, John Gaige, on the ballot.

—Arnold Weissberg

Zola calls for 'full payment now' to 80,000 UMWA pensioners

PITTSBURGH—The fact that more than 80,000 retired miners will not receive a pension check until May "shows the vindictiveness and inhumanity of the coal operators," Mark Zola charged in a statement issued here.

The United Mine Workers retirees covered by the 1950 Pension Trust received their last check January 1.

Retirement fund trustees say the fund is broke because tonnage payments by the companies stopped during the strike. They say that not enough money will accumulate to send out pension checks until May.

The UMWA contract settlement called for the payments retirees missed in February and March (and now April) to be made up "as soon as possible." But fund trustees now say that may be a year or longer.

"The men and women who built the union and who dug billions of dollars worth of coal for the compan-

ies should not have to starve simply because the bosses forced a months-long strike," Zola declared.

"These retirees have a human right, at the very minimum, to receive full retroactive payment of their pensions and to receive them now."

"I call on the state and federal governments to provide these pension payments immediately."

"Even under the new contract, the retirees under the 1950 plan receive a measly \$275 a month. To pay the three months' pension due to 80,500 pensioners would cost about \$67 million."

"Carter is going to spend more than that this year to buy the Air Force just one air-combat-control radar plane. I say that money should go for the livelihood of retired and disabled miners, not for war gadgets for the Pentagon."

By Nancy Cole

The nationwide strike by coal miners provoked a rash of assessments by big-business commentators on the "permissiveness" of union democracy and the "anarchism" of rank-and-file contract ratification.

But it is just this union democracy—limited though it is—in the United Mine Workers and the confidence it has given the union's ranks that made possible their militant stand against the coal industry's union-busting drive.

In 1972 the Miners for Democracy movement ousted corrupt UMWA dictator Tony Boyle. The events that led to that advance for coal miners show how important union democracy is to the fight to better working people's lives.

A good place to begin a review of those events is with *Death and the Mines*, subtitled *Rebellion and Murder in the UMWA*. The book by journalist Brit Hume was completed before the

Death and the Mines: Rebellion and Murder in the UMWA is published by Grossman publishers in New York City. It is currently out of print although it is available from libraries and from some bookstores.

Miners for Democracy election victory and ends—except for a brief epilogue—with the December 1969 murder of Joseph Yablonski.

Boyle was later convicted for the assassination of Yablonski, who had challenged him for the UMWA presidency in the 1969 union election.

From this campaign came troops for the Miners for Democracy movement. *Death and the Mines* provides a useful and extremely readable account of the roots of the rebellion in the UMWA.

Chain of events

Hume makes a case that three related developments led to "rebellion and murder" in the Miners union. The book moves—often like a suspense novel—from the Farmington mine explosion in 1968, to the 1969 West Virginia black lung movement, to Yablonski's insurgent campaign.

He follows one miner—a survivor—through the November 20, 1968, explosion at Consolidation Coal's mine in Farmington, West Virginia. When the mine was sealed nine days later, seventy-eight miners were entombed.

It was here that UMWA President Boyle arrived on the scene and said, "As long as we mine coal, there is always this inherent danger." He added that Consolidation was "one of the best companies to work with as far as cooperation and safety are concerned."

It was a particularly grisly example of the union bureaucracy's coziness with the coal operators at the expense of miners. This was a departure from the days in the 1940s when UMWA President John L. Lewis scored the coal operators for their blame in similar disasters.

But it was Lewis himself who engineered the change in relationship between the union and companies. In the years after World War II, coal lost out to oil and gas in the home-heating market.

If the industry was to survive, Lewis reasoned, production costs would have to be cut—regardless of the effect on the ranks of the UMWA.

To that end, Lewis and the coal companies embarked on a drive to mechanize the mines. The UMWA even loaned coal operators millions of dollars from a union-owned bank.

The Lewis-backed automation campaign wiped out 300,000 coal-mining jobs during the 1950s.

It had a devastating impact on coal-field communities and on the power of the Miners union. Sweetheart contracts—secret agreements between company and union to ignore provisions of the national contract—became the rule in areas where the UMWA was weakest.

Roots of rebellion in miners union



February 26, 1969, march on state capitol by West Virginia miners demanding black-lung reform.

After this decade of decline, Tony Boyle assumed presidency of the union in 1963. Hume pinpoints the beginning of the dissident movement in March 1964, when Boyle negotiated the UMWA's first new contract since 1958. The miners demanded an improved seniority clause and other improvements. Of course, at that time they had no right to vote on the agreement.

When the contract found its way back to the coalfields, 10,000 miners walked off the job for a week in protest.

No opposition had been allowed to surface at a UMWA convention since 1944, and Boyle prepared to keep it that way at the 1964 meeting.

About half the locals in the union consisted of inactive or retired miners. Some locals had only a few or even just one member. But the international handed out credentials for all of them and paid for their delegates to attend the convention. Contrary to the UMWA constitution, union functionaries showed up with credentials from as many as five locals each.

Hume describes a convention scene where dissident delegates tried to get the rules of the convention changed:

"Scuffles broke out, with the hard-hatted delegates punching, kicking, or simply grabbing those who wanted to speak. John Stofea, a twenty-three-year veteran of the UMW from New Eagle, Pennsylvania, turned around in his seat and saw the foreman from the

U.S. Steel Company mine where he worked seated behind him. Incensed, he got up and strode toward a mike at the front of the room."

'Rules gaveled through'

"Three of the white hats grabbed him and beat him into submission. One clubbed him with the edge of his helmet. He was led bleeding from the floor as the brawl continued. Those who reached microphones to speak found that they had been turned off. As the free-for-all calmed down, the Boyle rules for running the convention were gaveled through."

Dissatisfaction among the ranks continued to brew. Like today, miners' concerns were not so much with wages as with inadequate benefits and unsafe working conditions.

After the public outrage at the Farmington disaster, new federal safety legislation could no longer be avoided. Even the coal operators were resigned to more regulations. But the UMWA misleadership opposed as "too stiff" a health and safety bill drafted by West Virginia U.S. Rep. Ken Hechler.

Meanwhile there were stirrings of a movement around black lung in West Virginia. Despite its epidemic proportions among miners, doctors bought off by the coal industry refused to recognize the disease. It was impossible for miners incapacitated by black lung to get workmen's compensation.

According to Hume, three crusading doctors in the state teamed up to bring attention to the disease caused by breathing coal dust.

Shortly after, miners working for black lung legislation met and formed the West Virginia Black Lung Association. Among them was Arnold Miller, later to become president of the union as part of the Miners for Democracy slate.

The miners association and the three doctors soon joined forces and began holding meetings across the coalfields.

The dramatic growth of this movement among men who had for decades suffered silently with their "coal miners' disease" is the most exciting part of Hume's narrative.

Boyle against it

And the Boyle regime opposed it every step of the way.

On January 26, 1969, for the first time miners from different parts of the coalfields gathered 3,000 strong for a black lung rally in Charleston, West Virginia.

"By now the miners had begun to appear with some of the typical accoutrements of a political campaign or movement. Many wore their white hard hats with skulls and crossbones emblazoned on each side. Others wore large red and black buttons with the numbers '78-4' printed on them. These referred to the seventy-eight men killed at Farmington and to four who had died in a flooded mine at Hominy Falls, West Virginia, six months earlier.

"An often repeated slogan of the crusade became: 'Seventy-eight, four, how many more?' In addition, there were cut-out cardboard discs with black skull and crossbones and the words, 'Stop Black Lung Murder!'"

The West Virginia miners who carried out this struggle tended to be isolated from social protests occurring elsewhere. But they could not have been unaffected, especially by the anti-Vietnam War movement, which was organizing massive demonstrations and discrediting the government in the eyes of the millions of Americans.

The UMWA bureaucrats responded to the black lung movement with charges of "dual unionism"—grounds for expelling miners from the UMWA and cutting off all their health and pension benefits.

Miners packed the legislative hearings in Charleston. The state representatives promised to introduce the compensation bill the next week. When it didn't happen, West Virginia miners walked off the job.

Two thousand rallied in Charleston and then marched on the state capitol. Gov. Arch Moore was forced to speak to them from the capitol steps, where he offered his "sympathy" for their cause and vowed to introduce his own bill in the next legislative session if theirs didn't make it through this time.

"No, no, we want it now," the miners shouted.

First political strike

After more shenanigans by state politicians, the miners finally won their bill. "The strike, the first ever started by the miners for purely political purposes," concludes Hume, "had lasted three weeks and closed the industry. The legislation it produced was not all the miners wanted [but it was] . . . the most liberal workmen's compensation status of its kind in the country."

It taught the politicians a lesson, says Hume, but more important "was what it taught the miners themselves, about politics, their own potential strength, and their union leadership. The taste of triumph had led many of them to ask themselves, 'If we can do this, why did we have to put up with things as they were for so long?'"

This view was to lead the nucleus of the black lung movement to support the campaign of Joseph "Jock" Yablonski for UMWA president later that year.

Yablonski was no rank-and-file dissident. Since 1942 he had been a member of the union's international executive board, a district president for eight years, and comfortably situated in the union hierarchy at \$26,000 a year plus expenses. When called upon, he could heap praise on Boyle as well as the next lieutenant.

But he was affected by the growing movement for change in the union. Hume credits him with basic union instincts and a bitter, privately stated contempt for Boyle. Yablonski was opposed to the Vietnam War and had supported the unsuccessful presidential bid of Democrat Eugene McCarthy.

According to Hume, Yablonski's decision to openly break with Boyle was influenced largely by Ralph Nader, who was leading a crusade for safety in the mines and for reform of the UMW.

But the basic factor was unquestionably the ferment in the ranks of the union.

'Bill of Rights for Coal Miners'

"Many of the men that rallied to Yablonski's cause were miners who had been fighting the UMW hierarchy long before the idea of breaking ranks ever crossed Yablonski's mind," Hume writes of the organizers who fanned out across the coalfields with Yablonski's "Bill of Rights for Coal Miners."

Boyle, of course, had quite a campaign apparatus from the start, since officials of nineteen of the union's twenty-three districts were appointed by and totally beholden to the union president. He tried to buy off potential Yablonski supporters and in some cases sent goons to break up the insurgent candidate's meetings.

Much of the book's section on the Yablonski campaign dwells on the legal strategy of his attorney, Joseph Rauh. Again and again Rauh tried unsuccessfully to get the Labor Department to halt Boyle's illegal practices in the election.

The fraudulent election declared Boyle the winner on December 9, 1969. Yablonski voted to go to court. He never made it.

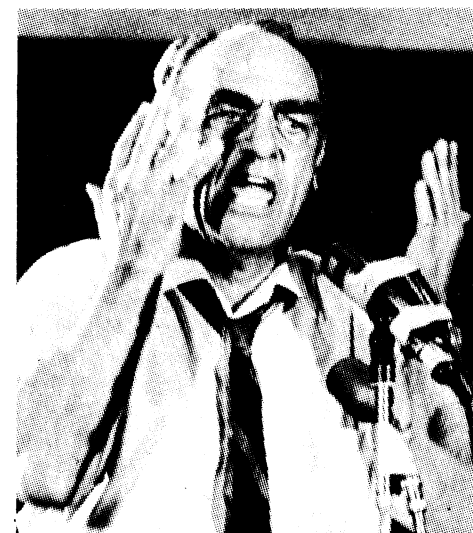
On December 31, hired killers entered Yablonski's home in Clarksville, Pennsylvania, and murdered him, his wife Margaret, and his daughter Charlotte.

On the day of the funeral, a group of about 100 miners met and formed the nucleus of what would later become Miners for Democracy.

Despite Hume's emphasis on the role of individuals like Nader and Rauh, the dynamic of the movement that a horrifying mass murder couldn't stop is evident throughout the book.

The epilogue explains that in June 1970 a wildcat strike by 20,000 miners erupted, protesting nonenforcement of the new mine safety law.

Today the coal operators continue to put their profits before the lives of miners. And as the recent coal strike dramatically showed, the UMW ranks aim to extend their union democracy and develop a leadership that can effectively fight the greedy mineowners. Hume's history of the early dissident days offers insight into the rebellion of coal miners in 1978.



Jeanne M. Rasmussen

Yablonski campaigning

Blacks recall three decades in the mines

By Omari Musa

CLARKSBURG, W. Va.—"I started working in the mines with my father when I was eighteen years old. Dad started when he was thirteen," Oliver Gholston told me as we sat in the family's home here.

Gholston is a retired Black coal miner. He worked in the mines of northern West Virginia from 1935 until 1957. During most of those years he toiled for the Mountain Fuel and Coal Company in Cambria.

Oliver's wife, Thelma Gholston, is also from a mining family. She was born and raised in Widen, West Virginia. Her father and first husband were miners at the Elk River Coal and Luber Company mines in Widen. Both were killed in the same mine.

West Virginia has long had more Black miners than any other state. In 1930 there were more than 22,000 Black miners here, making up nearly 23 percent of all miners in the state.

But from 1930 their numbers dropped steadily. By 1970 there were less than 2,000 Black miners throughout the state, comprising less than 4 percent of working miners.

Blacks driven out

I asked the Gholstons why and how so many Blacks were driven out of the industry.

"Mostly automation and the race thing," Oliver replied.

"I started as a hand loader. We worked with pick and shovel in those days and got paid by the ton. A lot of the Black men did the hardest work, but so did whites. When the company brought in loading and cutting machines, Blacks began to disappear," he explained.

"At first everybody worked the machines. Then all of a sudden all those machines were run by whites. After the war, all those jobs went to whites.

"I never saw a Black operating a loading machine," said Gholston. "I remember this guy from Illinois. He'd learned how to run a loading machine there. He came to Cambria looking for a job. The company wouldn't let him help on the loading machine, much less run one."

I asked Thelma Gholston if the same situation existed in Widen.

"Before the war Black men did everything," she said. "There wasn't any segregation on the job. My first husband ran a motor; my brother was a shot firer. Blacks were brakeman; they worked in all capacities."

"Sometimes," Oliver added, "when Black miners got a good job like motorman, the company and some of the whites would make mistakes to blame on the Black so he couldn't keep the good job."

I asked if the union had fought against this discrimination against Black miners. "Sometimes yes, and sometimes no," Oliver replied.

"I remember this guy who was a trackman. The company went over me and put him on as motorman and wanted me to brake for him, and I said no."

"You see, the company said before you could be a motorman you had to be a brakeman. So we had the District [United Mine Workers District 31 officials] come down there. But it seemed to me that the company had bought them out. They didn't do a damn thing for my case."

But Blacks didn't always lose, Oliver explained. He told me about Wallace Cooley, a Black miner who for a time was Local 2931 president.

"Cooley was president and served on the mine and safety committees. He won a lot of cases against the company for both Blacks and whites." During



World War II Cooley was one of the few Black foremen.

"The company put him in charge of a section, and the white miners wouldn't work for him. These were the same white miners he'd worked with for years," he said.

"I know a lot of these white miners would quit their jobs if they had to work with Blacks. Sometimes there would be one section where only Blacks worked and one where only whites worked."

Gholston says when he thinks about that today it still seems strange to him. "After all," he said, "what's the difference when we're both under the same ground."

Organizing drives

The Gholstons remember the drives to organize the coal mines.

Thelma said it wasn't until 1941 that the mines around Widen were organized.

"Before that," she said, "the company hired goons and deputized men in the town to stop the UMW organizers. The place was like a battlefield."

The key to organizing in Widen, she recalled, was a Black man named Lloyd Lewis.

"Lewis represented the Black people in Widen," Gholston said. "At first he was a company man. Blacks who came to Widen to look for a job had to check with him. If Lewis told the mine superintendent that the person was OK, they got hired."

"But after a while the UMW organizers convinced him that the union was the best way for all miners."

Lewis's fate after he became a unionist was similar to a host of other dedicated working-class fighters.

"Lewis began to organize the Black miners and some whites into the UMW. He called meetings at night in the woods so the mine superintendent wouldn't find out. But somebody told on him," Thelma continued.

"Then deputies went over to his house with guns. I lived right next door to Lewis. I saw these men around that house ready to kill him."

"But he outsmarted them. Another miner had told Lewis the night before that the deputies would be coming. Lewis took his family and moved to Clarksburg. When the deputies arrived, he was gone."

This incident taught many of the miners a lesson on what coal operators were really about.

"Before Lewis joined the union he was the favorite of the superintendent," she explained. "But as soon as they found out he was a union man, they were ready to kill him."

Union organizers also learned a lesson, she thought.

"They had to organize Blacks, or the company would bring in more Blacks to take the place of the whites. That way the company could break the strike."

"The UMW," she concluded, "started in Widen with a Black man—Lloyd Lewis."

Company intimidation

Oliver Gholston related his experiences of the UMW organizing drives in Widen and Galloway.

"We were nonunion at first. If you came around the camps talking union, the company would throw your furniture out in the mud."

"At times the company brought in armed strike-breakers and shot up the camps," Gholston said. "They would use high-powered rifles that could cut branches from trees."

"The UMW organizers defended themselves as best they could. One of the things they did," he said, "was to use the post office. This was federal property, and the company couldn't get at them in there."

Thelma told how her brother was recruited to the union.

"One day he was on the way to work, and union men snatched his lunch pail and pulled him into the post office. They told him the union was the best way and he should not go to work."

"Well," she said, "my brother was shook up quite a bit by that, and he didn't go back to work. Later, he joined the union."

The Gholstons also spoke about the general problems facing Blacks in this border state.

School segregation

"The schools were segregated, of course," Thelma began.

"During the depression, Black children could only attend school through the eighth grade. There was no Black high school in Widen. If the parents could, they sent their children eighty-five miles away to live in Charleston to attend high school."

"Not too many of us could do that," she said.

Oliver said that in Galloway Black

Continued on page 25

'We fight for justice in Mexico'

In an exclusive interview with 'Militant' staff writer Arnold Weissberg, Rosario Ibarra de Piedra discusses the fight against political persecution in Mexico.

Question. How many political prisoners are there in Mexico?

Answer. I don't know exactly. We think there are 800 to 1,000. We have a list of 367 people who have "disappeared." There are seventy-five exiles.

Q. What is a "disappeared" person?

A. Sometimes the police arrest—or just kidnap—a person. Then they tell the family they don't know where he is. We call that "disappeared."

My son Jesús is a "disappeared." He was arrested in April 1975, and I haven't seen him since.

Q. Who are the prisoners and the persecuted? What kind of people?

Who they are

A. Many are peasants, others workers. But most are students and intellectuals.

Q. How does your committee defend them?

A. We fight for political prisoners, for the "disappeared," exiles, the persecuted. We want the prisoners to be freed and the "disappeared" to be returned.

We talk to government officials. We try to get them to understand our problem and to help solve it. If we don't get help, we have demonstrations.

We go to the trade unions to ask the workers to help us. We go to schools, to wherever there are people who want to fight for human rights and constitutional rights in Mexico.

We want justice. We want the Mexican government to respect our constitution and our laws.

Q. How did you get involved with the committee?

A. My son Jesús was accused in January 1974 of murdering a university librarian in Monterrey—the same murder that Héctor Marroquín is accused of.

The police arrested him in April 1975 and tortured him. They took him to Military Camp Number One in Mexico City—a secret camp—where many, many other political prisoners have been taken. Women have told me their sons, their husbands, their fathers, their brothers are there. They are also "disappeared," like my son.

I looked for my son for a year and a half. I met thirty-nine times with Echeverría [former Mexican president].

Q. What did he tell you?

Official runaround

A. Each time he said, "I am going to investigate." He sent me to other government officials. I know everyone in the official life of Mexico.

Q. But you never got an answer?

A. Never. Never, never, never. They were always investigating.

Finally, when I didn't get an answer from the Mexican government, I started this committee.

Q. How big is the committee?

A. The first chapter, in Monterrey, was started in April 1977. In August we called together people from all Mexico to a meeting in Monterrey. There we founded the national committee.

At the beginning, there were only seven committees. Now there are fourteen. And we publish a newspaper, *Amnestia* [Amnesty].

There are committees in Rome, Paris, Cuba, Belgium, Holland, and Germany.

We would like also to have a committee in the United States.

Q. Now there is a new president in Mexico. Has that made any difference?

A. I have already talked to Mr. López Portillo three times. I told him, "Mr. President, we want to see our relatives." He said the same thing: "I am going to investigate. I promise in a month you will have an answer from me."

That was March 28, 1977. We still have no answer.

But I do not want to speak to the president any more.

Justice

I think what the Mexican people need is justice—something very easy for the government. There is a constitution, there are laws. If they obeyed the laws, there would not be any problems.

Q. Had you been active in politics before your son was kidnapped?

Interview with Rosario Piedra

The government of Mexico has attempted to cultivate a progressive image in the eyes of world public opinion.

The reality, however, is quite different.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg
ROSARIO IBARRA DE PIEDRA

The single ruling party has responded brutally to all attempts to change the unequal social and economic conditions that keep masses of Mexicans in grinding poverty.

One of the bright spots on the horizon in the fight against this repression is the growing movement for freedom for political prisoners.

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra is a national leader of that fight. She is a founder of the National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled—a national, nonpartisan group.

Piedra is currently on a speaking tour of the United States, sponsored by the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. She will be in Albuquerque April 7-11, Denver April 12-15, Salt Lake City April 16-18, New Orleans April 19-21, and Houston April 22-25.

A. No. But all my life, since I was a little girl, I felt that things must be fair for everyone. My father was a very good man. He was in the Mexican Revolution of 1910. He taught that we must ask for our rights.

But I am not in any political party.

Q. How do you think this repression can be ended?

A. I think it is very difficult. The government has said many, many times, "We have no political prisoners." But that's not true. There are many political prisoners.

The government must declare a general amnesty.

The government wants all democratic forces to be separated. But if we get together, I think we can win.

Q. Have any members of your committee been arrested?

A. The police are careful. Now we are important. They take very good care, because they don't want to appear repressive with us.

My youngest son—he is nineteen—was arrested while he was writing "freedom for political prisoners" on a wall. The police held him four hours.

But they said, "You can go. You are a very good boy."

But before the committee, my husband was arrested. This was while the police were looking for our son. He was taken to the police station and tortured. They broke two of his vertebrae.

Q. What can people in the United States do to help?

A. I ask the American people to write to López Portillo and ask him to make public the list of the disappeared. [José López Portillo, Presidente Constitucional de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, Los Piños, Mexico, D.F., Mexico; with a copy to the committee at Guayaquil 205, Colonia Alta-Vista, Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico.]

Q. How does Héctor Marroquín's case relate to the issue of repression in Mexico?

A. The government of Mexico listens very closely to American opinion. If there is a big movement here for Marroquín to get asylum, then the Mexican government will know. It will make them slow down what they are doing.

And if Marroquín gets asylum, then it is the U.S. government saying there is repression in Mexico.

Mexican rally demands amnesty



Part of a March 12 demonstration in Cuernavaca, Mexico, calling for freedom for political prisoners. The action was part of a national week of pro-amnesty activities. The

demonstration was sponsored by the Coalition for Human Rights, Constitutional Guarantees, and Democratic Liberties. Fifteen hundred people attended the rally.

Militant/Barry Fatland

'Help us save Hector's life'

Marroquin speaks at Brooklyn shipyard

By Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—"Help save the life of Héctor Marroquín!"

"Please take a second to sign the petition at the gate. Keep the government from deporting Marroquín back to Mexico, where he will be kidnapped, tortured, or murdered by the Mexican police."

While his backers appealed for support over a bullhorn, Héctor Marroquín shook hands and talked to workers on their lunch break at the Brooklyn Navy Yard March 29. Several hundred workers stopped for a while to listen. About forty listened to most of Marroquín's talk.

Marroquín, twenty-five, is seeking political asylum in the United States. The Mexican government has falsely accused him of murder and "subversion." He fled Mexico in 1974 and has lived in this country since then as an undocumented worker. Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Marroquín spoke in both English and Spanish to the welders, shipfitters, carpenters, and painters who milled around the yard entrance. Most are Black or Puerto Rican; many are from Central American and the Caribbean.

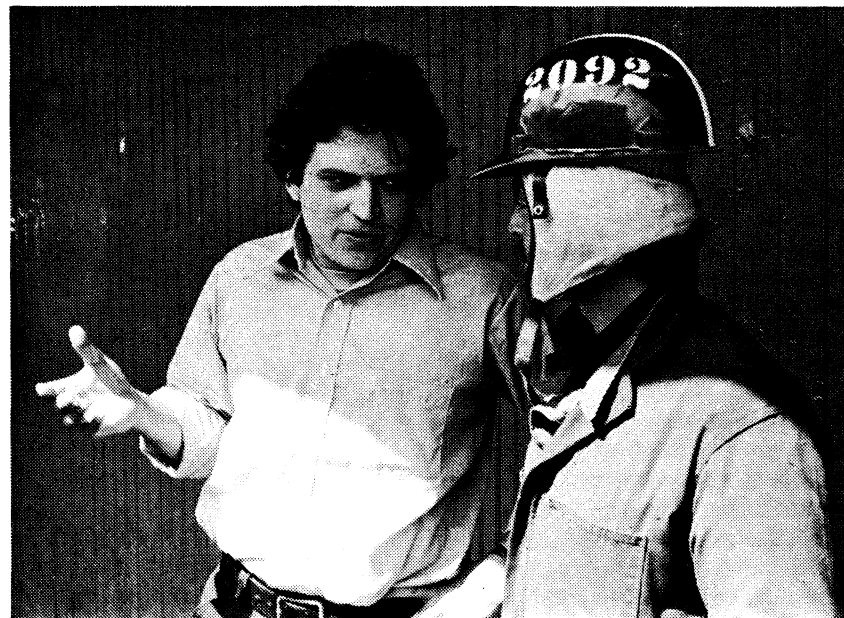
One worker, after listening for about five minutes, turned to his friends and said, "Where's that petition—I want to sign it." He was one among fifty who signed.

Many workers nodded agreement as Marroquín's supporters explained that repressive conditions in Mexico are little known in the United States—just like similar situations in other Latin American and Caribbean countries.

SWP members, including several navy yard workers, have been selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language socialist biweekly, and petitioning for Marroquín there since January.

During the three days before Marroquín's appearance, his supporters passed out 1,000 leaflets in English and Spanish. Many workers had heard about Marroquín and were interested in seeing him.

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra (see facing page) also spoke. And Ken Miliner, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the Nineteenth Congressional District, was on hand to lend his support to Marroquín.



Militant photos by Rich Robohm

MY STORY

By Héctor Marroquín



The Struggle for Political Asylum in the U.S.

The story of a twenty-four-year-old student rebel, union activist, undocumented worker, and socialist forced to flee his homeland to escape political repression. 16 pages, 50¢. 35¢ each on orders of ten or more.

Available from: **Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.**

Campus appeal wins backing

By Betsy Farley

More than 200 individuals and organizations on high school and college campuses across the country have signed an appeal for political asylum for Héctor Marroquín. The appeal has been sent by the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee to Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Leonel Castillo.

Signers include National Student Association President Frank Viggi-ano, student governments at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, San Francisco State College, University of Colorado at Denver, and San Diego City College, and Black, Latino, and women's groups on dozens of campuses.

"We reviewed the facts of his case and the charges of murder, assault, and 'subversion' leveled against him by the Mexican government," the appeal reads. "In view of the overwhelming evidence of his innocence, we must conclude that these frame-up charges are an effort to victimize

Marroquín because of his political views. . . .

"If deported to Mexico, there is little chance that he will receive a fair trial. . . .

"Marroquín's fight is the fight of all members of the academic community for the elementary right to freedom of speech and freedom of political activity. . . . Although we do not necessarily agree with his political views, we must all unite behind Héctor Marroquín's request for political asylum in the United States," the appeal concludes.

Marroquín is a national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. YSA members have been among the most active builders of the defense on the campuses. At its 1977 national convention, the YSA voted to mobilize all of its forty-five chapters in the defense effort.

Many YSA chapters have joined with other Marroquín supporters to set up local Héctor Marroquín Defense committees.

A defense committee chapter was established in Philadelphia early

this year. It began organizing for Marroquín's speaking tour in the city, which took place during the last week in March.

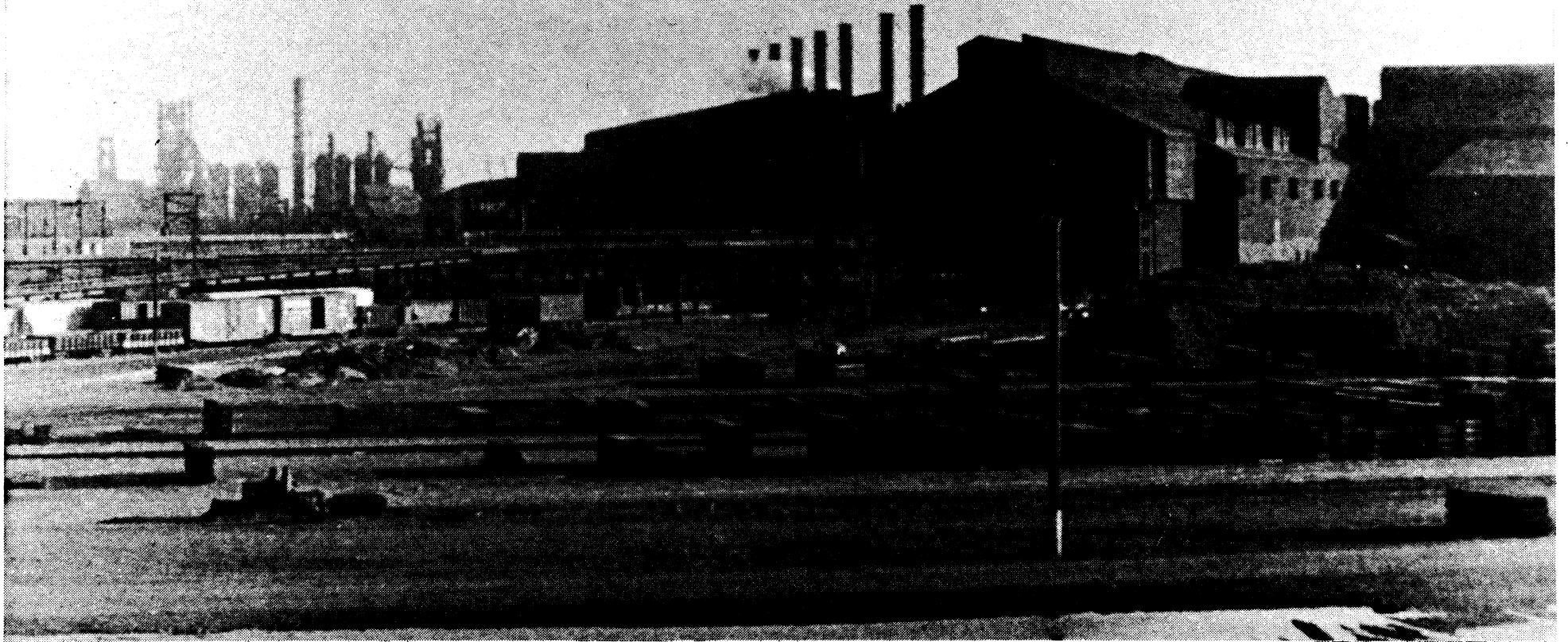
These early preparations bore fruit: Marroquín spoke to nearly 300 people at three campus meetings, received front-page coverage in the Temple University campus paper, and raised almost \$600 in honoraria, which will help pay the estimated \$20,000 in legal expenses for his case.

Other campus defense committees have also been active. Gale Conner reported from Oberlin College in Ohio, "We have already gotten more than 200 signatures on petitions, we ran an article in the campus paper, and have been saturating the campus with a Marroquín fact sheet that we printed up ourselves."

"Support has come from the campus minister, the student senate, the anti-Bakke coalition, the United Farm Workers support committee, and many others," Conner wrote in a letter to the national defense committee offices.

Layoffs & job bias in steel

Suit against consent decree won't protect jobs



Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point complex: 28 percent of work force has been laid off in past four years

Militant/Bob Kissinger

By Jim Gotesky

BALTIMORE—When the steel industry consent decree was signed in 1974 by eight major steel companies, the United Steelworkers of America, and the Department of Labor, it represented a step toward ending decades of racial discrimination in the industry.

The decree replaced departmental seniority with plant-wide seniority and established transfer rights between departments. These measures opened higher-paying, skilled jobs to Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican workers. These workers had been traditionally confined to lower-paying job categories.

The consent decree also laid the basis for countering discrimination against women.

Today the consent decree faces a challenge that could have serious effects—not only for oppressed nationalities and women, but for all steelworkers as the employers' offensive intensifies.

Turn back the clock

In a class-action suit filed last November, four workers at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point complex here are seeking a return to departmental seniority.

The suit is based on a June 1977 U.S. Supreme Court ruling involving two trucking firms and the Teamsters union. In that case, the court declared that discriminatory seniority systems are not necessarily illegal unless it is proved that the employer discriminated intentionally.

The four who are challenging the decree—three whites and one Black—contend that Bethlehem Steel took action in the 1940s and 1950s to equalize employment opportunities for women and to guarantee transfer rights to Blacks.

The suit attacks the consent decree for failing to solve the massive layoffs currently affecting the steel industry, and for "turn[ing] Black against Black, white against white, and friends against each other."

All four workers have twenty years or more seniority. They were either laid off or bumped to lower-paying jobs by Bethlehem Steel when Blacks with more seniority transferred into departments where they work.

Instead of challenging the company's action, however, the four chose

to attack the consent decree. They accepted the racist notion that whites—and in this case a handful of Blacks—suffer "reverse discrimination" because of affirmative-action job programs.

The opposite is the truth.

Web of discrimination

Francis Brown, who has worked at Sparrows Point for twenty-two years, says that the suit ignores "a web of discrimination across the face of Sparrows Point."

Brown is president of the Baltimore Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and a leader of Steelworkers for Equality, a Black caucus at Sparrows Point.

Steelworkers for Equality filed a successful 1973 antidiscrimination suit. This followed a 1971 court order striking down departmental seniority at Bethlehem Steel's Lackawanna, New York, plant and at U.S. Steel's Fairfield, Alabama, plant. It was only after the success of these lawsuits that the steel industry agreed to the consent decree.

Brown says Bethlehem Steel has done nothing to advance Blacks or women at Sparrows Point. Until 1968 Sparrows Point had separate facilities for Blacks and whites. Even the company restaurant was segregated.

Brown knows. He sat in to desegregate the restaurant. He was also assigned to paint over the "colored" and "white" signs above locker rooms when they were desegregated.

Bethlehem Steel's attitude toward women is no different, according to Kathleen Beasley. Beasley is the Employment Taskforce Coordinator for the Baltimore National Organization for Women. She has worked twenty-six years for Bethlehem Steel.

Until 1974, Beasley says, women were excluded from most departments and hired only for jobs not considered to be men's jobs. Between 1959 and 1974, virtually no women were hired at all. A trickle of women flowed into the mills in 1974 because of the consent decree and an upturn in steel production.

Company arguments

Brown pointed out that the antidiscriminatory suit argues along the same lines as the company on the key issue of transfer rights. Company spokespeople, Brown says, insist that transfer

rights have existed for women and minorities since 1956.

The problem, they say, is not the need for affirmative action, but that women and Blacks didn't take advantage of the opportunities open to them.

Brown explained that Blacks with less than perfect work records who asked for transfers were told to go back to work or lose their jobs.

Those who succeeded in getting a transfer letter were sent home to wait for an opening in some other department.

The consent decree changed that to a certain extent. Openings are now posted. Workers can file grievances on job transfers and promotions to a committee established to oversee implementation of the decree.

However, Brown pointed out, the implementation committee—composed equally of company and union representatives with a non-voting government representative—can act only after reaching a unanimous decision.

The steel companies use their presence on the committee to tie up grievances. And under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement's no-strike pledge—extracted from steelworkers by the companies in partnership with steel union officials—workers have no effective means to enforce the decree.

No guarantees

Other limitations are built into the decree.

For example, anyone who transfers to a new department begins at the bottom of the departmental pay scale. Since transfers are made on the basis of the longest plant service, workers who transfer usually take a large pay cut in the process.

The consent decree provides that a transferring worker's pay rate is retained for two years if his or her new position pays less. But there is no guarantee that any promotion will come in two years—or ten years. So transferees may never regain their original pay rates.

Many workers with heavy financial obligations cannot afford to take the chance of losing their pay. In addition, there are few training programs available to give minorities, and particularly women, the necessary skills to bid into better paying jobs.

A big weakness in the decree is its failure to establish quotas for women and minorities in all areas of steel

production. Also, past gains in raising the percentage of minorities and women in the mills are not protected from the "last hired, first fired" impact of layoffs.

No firm guidelines for apprentice training programs and implementation timetables are spelled out.

This lack of quotas, timetables, and protection from discriminatory layoffs allows steel companies to stall any program in red tape, or allow layoffs to undo affirmative-action gains already made.

Another provision in the decree provided a lump sum in back pay to victims of discrimination. The NAACP charged that steel companies wanted this provision as a slick maneuver to get off cheaply by avoiding suits under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The average compensation awarded was only around \$400. This was more than just a gross underestimation of the financial damage done through job discrimination. It tricked workers who accepted the back pay into signing away their own legal right—and that of their offspring—to challenge discriminatory practices.

Despite all these ways in which the decree falls short of guaranteeing full equality, it did strike down an important obstacle to that goal—departmental seniority. It did provide for transfer rights.

As such, the decree is an affirmative-action gain that all steelworkers have an interest in protecting.

Affirmative action & layoffs

The pattern of layoffs at Sparrows Point over the past four years is also a graphic illustration of why the anti-consent decree suit must be fought.

Since the signing of the decree in 1974, Bethlehem Steel has laid off 5,000 workers at Sparrows Point—28 percent of the work force.

All but a few of the women hired since 1974, and most of the younger workers, are now laid off. In addition, a disproportionate number of Blacks has been laid off.

According to Beasley, this steady wave of layoffs has created an atmosphere of insecurity in the plant. This has made it easier for the company to foster competition for jobs between older and young workers, Black and white workers, and male and female workers.

Both Brown and Beasley point out that this fits in well with Bethlehem Steel's profit drive. The crisis in the steel industry, they say, has revealed the steel bosses' true priorities. It has shown that the sense of security the bosses have tried to foster among older, more skilled workers is very fragile.

Twenty years' seniority means nothing to Bethlehem Steel in its drive for more production with fewer workers, lower pay, and fewer safety and pollution restrictions.

The older white workers who are backing the suit hope that their jobs can be guaranteed by reinstituting departmental seniority. The laid-off Blacks who are backing the suit mistakenly view the consent decree as the cause of their layoffs.

But getting rid of the consent decree and returning to departmental seniority will not solve the problems of layoffs and job security.

In fact, if the suit is successful, the very workers backing it will be losers as well.

Labor under attack

The same employing class responsible for the layoffs in steel is leading the charge against affirmative-action programs on the job. Gutting such programs is in their interest.

They profit from race and sex discrimination—from their ability to divide the work force along race and sex lines. They profit from the differential in wages, in working conditions, and in benefits that they are able to justify by claiming that this or that job is "a woman's job" or "a Black's job."

They also profit from the fact that these divisions hamper labor's ability to mobilize its full fighting power against the employers.

White workers and male workers are today suffering from lower wages, worse working conditions, and higher unemployment than if labor were mobilized in a united fight.

Mounting such a united fight is a must for the entire labor movement today. What the employers and the government have in mind for all working people was revealed in their union-busting attack on the United Mine Workers union during the recent coal strike.

But the miners showed the power and capability of working people to beat back this antilabor drive—provided there is *solidarity* within labor's ranks.

The same kind of solidarity is needed between Black and white workers, and between male and female workers. Only then can the employers' antilabor drive be stemmed.

Because of the disgraceful record of the union bureaucracy in helping foster and uphold race and sex discrimination in the workplace, such solidarity can only come about if the labor movement begins to champion the demands of women and oppressed nationalities for full and genuine equality.

The suit against the consent decree plays right into the bosses' hands. The labor movement should repudiate and oppose it.

Instead, the unions should launch a fight to defend and extend affirmative-action gains. That will lay the basis for a united fight to halt layoffs and protect the jobs of all workers.

Affirmative Action vs. Seniority

by Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 30 pp., 50 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Overtake the 'Bakke' decision!

March on Washington April 15

By Omari Musa

"We are calling on all defenders of affirmative action to stand up and be counted against the *Bakke* decision, along with thousands of others across the country on Saturday, April 15, in Washington, D.C.," Larry Holmes told a news conference here April 3. Holmes is a leader of the New York Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

Holmes announced that Washington Teachers Union President William Simons and U.S. Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) will be among the speakers at the April 15 rally.

Marchers are scheduled to assemble at 10:30 a.m. at the Ellipse. They will march to a rally on the west side of the Capitol.

Actions leading up to the April 15 march and rally are being held in more than fifteen cities across the country April 8.

By Jim Little

LONG BEACH, Calif.—A debate on the *Bakke* decision drew 400 students and community activists at California State University Long Beach last month. The debate was sponsored by the student government.

Nearly half the participants at the debate were Black and Chicano. The local NAACP chapter brought a contingent of high school students.

Among those speaking in opposition to the *Bakke* decision was Virna Canson, NAACP western regional director. Canson pointed out that the purpose of affirmative action is to attack past and present discrimination against minorities and women. Citing the example of the University of California at Los Angeles, she said, "How could anyone be so blind as to not take into account that in 1971 the UCLA Medical School for the first time in fifty years graduated a Black doctor under affirmative action."

Brian Weinberg of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League argued in favor of the *Bakke* decision. He asserted that affirmative-action programs discriminate against whites. "The fundamental wrong with preferential treatment is that individuals who have no personal responsibility for past discrimination," Weinberg said, "are made to sacrifice their own opportunity. . . ."

"The majority group is told that they are not going to have opportunities of equal competition," he complained.

Garry Kreep, general counsel of the Young Republicans and a member of the Young Americans for Freedom, also supported *Bakke*.

Andrea Lubrano, a member of the Minority Women's Task Force of the National Organization for Women, and the Student Coalition Against Racism, argued that affirmative-action programs have to have quotas to be effective. "Without quotas," she said, "there is affirmative talk but not much affirmative action."

"There has always been affirmative action," Lubrano declared. "Affirmative action for the children of the rich, children of alumni, and athletes. The only time affirmative action has been questioned is when it is for Blacks, Chicanos, and women."

Many speakers took the open mike during the question-and-answer session to state their opposition to the *Bakke* ruling.

Radio station KPFK recorded the entire debate for broadcast at a later date.

After the debate, SCAR hosted a reception to welcome NAACP leader Virna Canson to the campus. The reception room was packed.

Witness exposes frame-up

Skyhorse, Mohawk defense concludes

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—As the defense concluded presentation of its case, a new witness punched further holes in the frame-up of Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk. The two American Indian Movement (AIM) activists are charged with the 1974 murder of cabdriver George Aird.

The prosecution took eight months to present its case. But its "proof" was the unsubstantiated word of three people who themselves admitted hijacking the cab and beating and torturing the cabdriver. They were freed of murder charges after pointing the finger at the two AIM activists.

The new defense witness was Ramona Bland. She testified that for three months she had shared a Ventura County jail cell with Marcie Eagle

Staff, when Eagle Staff, Holly Broussard, and Marvin Redshirt were initially jailed for the crime.

Bland testified that Eagle Staff had told her that Redshirt stabbed the cabdriver. She said that Holly Broussard had been present during several of these discussions.

Neither of them, Bland said, ever mentioned Skyhorse or Mohawk participating in any way.

Later, Bland testified, Eagle Staff told her she was going to testify that Skyhorse and Mohawk were the killers because the district attorney wanted to make a deal with her.

In the absence of the jury, Cruz Reyna, a Ventura County investigator, admitted that he had not looked into reports that Broussard and Eagle Staff

were making statements to other inmates about the murder.

Under defense questioning, Reyna admitted that these reports "should have been acted on immediately." It was, he agreed, "very important information."

But presiding Judge Floyd Dodson, who has scarcely concealed his hostility to the defendants, ruled that Reyna's testimony could not be presented to the jury. It was, he said, "irrelevant."

The judge also acted decisively to cripple defense efforts to bring out the FBI role in the frame-up.

He did permit Virginia de Luce Wilson to testify. Known as "Blue Dove," de Luce was an FBI informer in AIM. She testified that she had been paid cash to infiltrate AIM and other groups. The day of the killing at a Ventura Camp she had driven Skyhorse and Mohawk into Los Angeles for a demonstration and brought them back shortly before the murder occurred.

The defense then tried to bring in ten FBI witnesses, including two whom "Blue Dove" had reported to on the activities of Skyhorse and Mohawk.

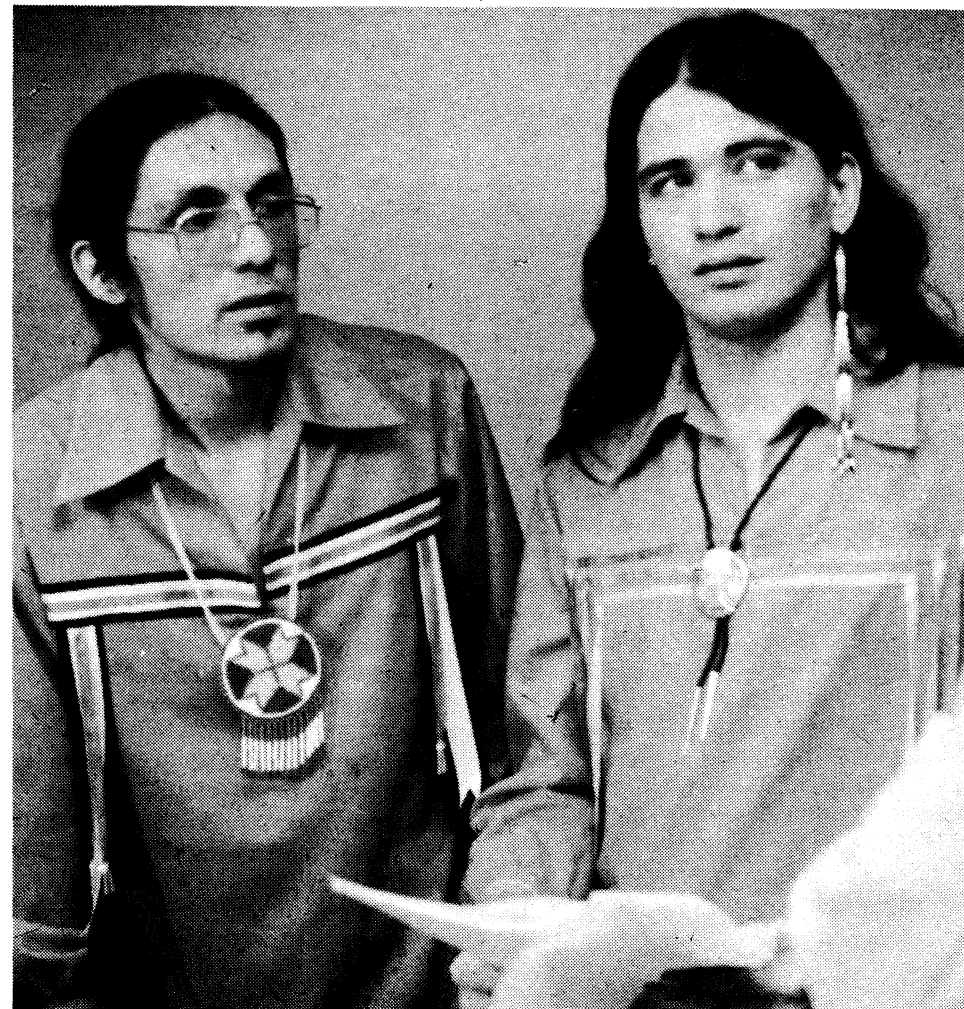
Dodson quashed the defense subpoenas. Even if political motivation for the prosecution was established, he indicated, this too was "irrelevant."

The defense also tried unsuccessfully to subpoena Douglas Durham, an FBI plant who had become a top officer of AIM. After his identity was revealed, he had lectured for a period for the John Birch Society and then disappeared. The FBI refused to produce Durham for the trial.

When the killing first occurred, Durham had issued inflammatory press statements in AIM's behalf. He then went to Ventura for AIM to investigate the charges against Skyhorse and Mohawk. He reported back that they were guilty and AIM should have nothing to do with them.

Later Durham was exposed and AIM threw itself into the defense.

When the prosecution rebuttal is completed, there will be summaries and the case will go to the jury, about a year after it began. Skyhorse and Mohawk have been imprisoned without bail since 1974.



Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk

Skyhorse/Mohawk Defense Committee

YOUTH & THE FIGHT FOR JOBS

Interview with Young Socialist leader



The following is an interview with Osborne Hart, national Black work director of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Question. The Young Socialist Alliance is supporting the April 8 'Jobs for Youth' march on Washington, D.C. How can marches like this aid in the fight against youth unemployment?

Answer. The YSA supports actions like the April 8 march—called by the Youth March for Jobs Committee—as a way of mobilizing young people to demand that the government provide jobs.

Unemployed youth are fed up with the broken promises of the Democrats and Republicans. They're tired of waiting for the funds and job programs that have never materialized. These youth want to take action to fight for jobs right now.

This action offers young people and our allies an opportunity to draw attention to the skyrocketing rate of youth unemployment and to focus our demands on the Democrats and Republicans who are responsible.

That's why the YSA will be marching.

Q. The Carter administration says that unemployment is declining. How have youth been affected?

A. First of all, let's take a closer look at the "decline" in the jobless rate. It's true that there was an official .2 percent drop from January to February. But what does that mean for the lives and families of the 6.1 percent of the population who the government admits still can't find a job?

It means that more than 6 million

workers in this country—which is the richest nation in the world—are living on the edge of poverty, surviving on welfare, measly unemployment benefits, and food stamps. And the majority of them are Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and women.

Meanwhile, in 1977 corporations reported the highest profits in years!

Jump in jobless youth

That's only part of the picture. While the overall unemployment figures dropped slightly, the jobless rate for youth between the ages of sixteen and nineteen increased from 16.0 to 17.4 percent! Official Black youth unemployment stands at 38 percent.

These are the government's figures, which mask the real extent of the crisis. The National Urban League's "State of Black America 1978" report found that Black youth unemployment stood at 60 percent in 1977 and higher in many urban areas.

The rulers of this country have nothing but contempt for the victims of the unemployment they have caused. Last summer, Black and Puerto Rican youth rebelled during the New York City blackout. Jobs were so scarce at the time that four out of every five Black youth had no job.

How did the politicians and the big-business media respond? They branded those who rebelled "animals" and locked them up in overcrowded prisons.

The government's economic experts have an elaborate name for young people's problem—they call it "structural unemployment." That's just a fancy way of covering up that capitalist society has produced a generation of youth able and willing to work who cannot find jobs because society won't provide them.

Q. Why are youth the most victimized by the current unemployment?

A. Young people, as well as Blacks,

Latinos, and women, have been the first target of a generalized attack on the living standards and rights of American working people. The ruling rich in this country face an economic crisis. Their solution is to make workers sacrifice more.

That has meant cutting back on everything working people have come to expect as rights. The right to a job. The right to an education. The right to decent health care, adequate housing, and every other human need.

Education and equal rights

The attacks on education and equal opportunity have made the job crunch for youth even more severe.

In city after city, local school boards are announcing they have "no money" to keep the schools open. In Toledo, Ohio, last fall, they actually shut the schools down! It wasn't until the banks and big corporations had blackmailed Toledo residents into voting for higher property taxes that the schools were reopened.

In other cities, cutbacks have meant fewer teachers, larger classes, no more extracurricular activities, no more bilingual-bicultural education.

And then they turn around and tell young people we can't get jobs because we haven't had any job training!

For Blacks, other oppressed minorities, and women, who have never gotten an equal education to begin with, there is a new threat—the attacks on affirmative-action programs.

These programs—won by the civil rights movement and women's struggles for equality—have been the only way for many oppressed youth to break into decent-paying jobs.

The fight to preserve affirmative action today is focused on overturning the *Bakke* decision, a California court ruling that special-admissions programs for minorities are "reverse discrimination." This case is now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The YSA is actively involved in building teach-ins, rallies, and demonstrations to demand that the *Bakke* decision be reversed. We are participating in the local April 8 anti-*Bakke* actions and in the April 15 march on Washington called by the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision.

Q. President Carter has just announced an urban aid program. How will his proposals affect youth looking for jobs?

A. Carter's new program is a blatant giveaway to the big corporations—it offers next to nothing for the poor.

Only \$1 billion is set aside to provide jobs each year, and only 60,000 jobs are to be provided. That barely makes a dent in the millions looking for work.

Not a cent is earmarked for special training programs for youth.

Instead, our tax dollars will be used in this program for tax incentives and loans to big business:

- \$1.5 billion will be given in tax credits to corporations that hire "hard core" unemployed;

- \$11 billion in long-term loans at low interest rates goes to companies that invest in major cities;

- An additional 5 percent investment tax credit, on top of the existing 10 percent credit, is given for investing in "distressed areas."

These capitalists don't need more "incentives"—they're already bleeding our communities dry. We need a massive input of federal money to rebuild these cities for human needs, not profits.

Money for jobs exists

The Democrats and Republicans say there is no money to do this. They say we have to cut back on the "luxuries" of education, health care, and other services.

But compare that \$1 billion Carter's program offers to the \$126 billion this year for the war budget. Over 100 times as much money spent for bombs, submarines, missiles and other weapons of destruction.

Imagine if that \$126 billion were used to finance a massive public works program, with funds to build hospitals, schools, new housing, child-care centers, and other basic services we need. Think of all the socially useful jobs this would create.

Q. There are bills in Congress—such as the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and the Harrington bill—that are supposed to create jobs. What is the YSA's view of these proposals?

A. These bills are a cruel hoax. Even if they became law, all they would do is establish guidelines for the president to follow in writing more legislation on full employment.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill does not include any funds whatsoever for jobs. The bill does not create any jobs, and in fact has as its goal achieving 4 percent unemployment.

Then there's the Harrington Youth Employment Act of 1977. This bill calls for "a program to provide financial assistance to States . . . for programs of training and employment in jobs on public service and private employment. . . ."

But, like its Humphrey-Hawkins counterpart, there is no money in the bill for jobs. The goal of the Harrington bill in the first year after enactment is 10 percent youth unemployment.

Neither these bills nor Carter's urban "aid" program offer any serious solutions to the problem of unemployment. In fact, the Democrats and Republicans and the corporate interests they represent have no intention of providing jobs for all.

Q. Why won't Carter solve the unemployment crisis?

A. Unemployment is built into the capitalist economy. Look at Carter's 1979 budget: it projects operating with 5.9 percent unemployment.

Today the capitalists face an inter-

national economic crisis, making unemployment far worse. But even in "good" times, unemployment is a permanent feature of the profit system.

Profits before jobs

Whenever big business produces too many goods to sell at a profit, the capitalists cut production to create a scarcity and drive prices back up. That means layoffs. And it means more inflation.

Those who are pushed out of the work force first are the most exploited layers: youth, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, immigrant workers, and women.

These racist and sexist policies help create a reserve army of labor, a large pool of unemployed workers available whenever it's profitable to hire them.

These unemployed workers are a source of cheap labor, forced to work at substandard wages in order to survive. This helps the employers keep down the wages of all working people.

Q. What is the solution to unemployment?

A. The first step to creating jobs is to do away with the war budget. Use those funds to set up a nationwide public works program.

This program could make millions of jobs available, as well as providing needed services.

Those hired should be paid union-scale wages.

For those who remain jobless, unemployment compensation should also be paid at union wages.

And to protect against inflation, a cost-of-living increase is necessary—both for those working and those receiving unemployment benefits.

Youth should be entitled to the same compensation as others without jobs. Youth also should be guaranteed access to a free education for as long as desired, including a stipend so education can be uninterrupted. They should be guaranteed a job upon graduation.

Any full employment program also must take steps to eliminate race and sex discrimination. Preferential hiring is needed in all public works projects to solve the disproportionate unemployment among women and oppressed national minorities.

To protect against layoffs, the workweek should be shortened with no loss in pay. This is an idea that is already being discussed among members of the United Auto Workers and other unions, who have called a conference on the shorter workweek for April 11.

This shorter workweek conference is an important step toward building a movement to combat unemployment.

Independent movement

Q. How can such a movement be organized?

A. To begin to mount a campaign for jobs, we need a movement that seeks to unite all victims of unemployment to fight back. Such a movement would fight against layoffs, against discrimination, and for massive federal funding to create jobs. A top priority would be the fight for jobs for youth.

Such a movement needs the backing of the trade-union movement. Unfortunately, the top labor officials today have turned their backs on the plight of jobless youth.

These labor misleaders have not even mobilized their own memberships to protect jobs. They tell unionists to put their faith in phony jobs bills like Humphrey-Hawkins. They urge lobbying and the election of "pro-labor" Democrats and Republicans.

An effective movement for jobs must break from this self-defeating strategy.

Instead of supporting the politicians who are taking away jobs, we have to mobilize against these politicians. We need marches, demonstrations, and other actions demanding an end to military spending, massive public works programs, and special measures to overcome race and sex discrimination.

Instead of relying on the Democratic and Republican politicians, we should follow the example of the miners, who stood up to the government and the coal bosses and relied on their own independent power to defend themselves.

The miners' strike showed what a powerful political force working people have.

Labor could use that power to launch an independent campaign for jobs—and that will take more than demonstrations. The logic of such a campaign would be to break completely from the Democratic and Republican parties, to mobilize labor to fight for the needs of the majority.

To do that, labor has to have its own political party that fights in the interests of working people and their allies. A labor party with a full employment program to solve the job crisis faced by working people and youth.

Today, more than ever, youth have a vital stake in helping bring such a labor party into being.

National picket line

The new 'picket line'

This is the first of our new National Picket Line columns, which will appear from time to time with brief news and commentary of interest to union activists and other working people. To let us know what's happening in your area—strike news, union resolutions, labor participation in other social struggles, or whatever—drop us a line at the *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Strikers say no to McDonnell Douglas

Striking aerospace workers at McDonnell Douglas Corporation turned down the company's contract offer in late March.

Eight thousand workers at four United Auto Workers locals in California, Oklahoma, and Arkansas have been on strike since January 13. UAW leaders charge the bosses with provoking a long strike with their "take away" demands: cuts in health and medical benefits, holidays, pensions, and cost-of-living allowances.

UAW negotiators accepted a tentative settlement March 29, but the union ranks voted it down. UAW members rejected the company's proposed 9 percent pay raise over three years. The workers want at least 13 percent, the same wage increase the Boeing corporation negotiated with the Machinists union last November. Boeing is McDonnell Douglas's major competitor.

Corporation negotiators tried to force an agreement down the union's throat by threatening to cut off talks for eleven weeks if their offer was defeated. "We'll wait them out," UAW Local 148 President Ben Howser replied.



All the news that's cheap to print

Newspaper talks continue in New York past the March 31 expiration date of union contracts. Negotiations between the three main dailies—the *New York Times*, *New York Post*, and *Daily News*—and the newspaper unions are said to be "volatile." Why?

"The publishers believe they are negotiating from a position of more strength than ever before. . . . They are determined to use their added power to achieve major changes in union contracts," explains the *Wall Street Journal*. The publishers' union-busting demands include:

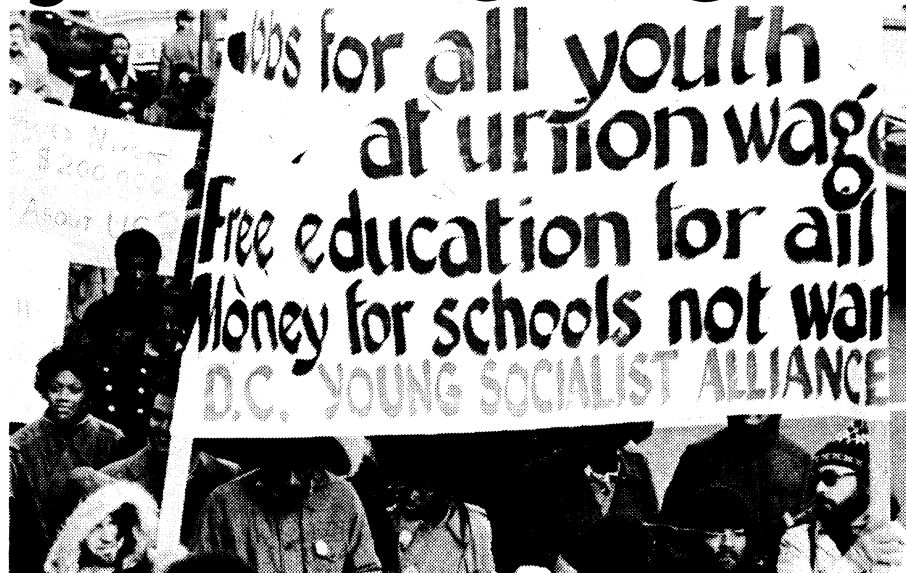
- The withdrawal of 700 jobs from the Newspaper Guild's 4,000-job jurisdiction, and
- Big cuts in the number of press operators. New York management would like to emulate the example of the *Washington Post*, which drove out the press operators union completely by provoking and defeating a strike in 1975.

Perhaps most outrageous of all is the demand advanced by Rupert Murdoch, new Australian publisher of the *New York Post*, for the right to fire any employee who is "incompatible with the new management's publishing concept." This "concept" has not been precisely spelled out, but the *Post* has dived into sensationalism and yellow journalism since Murdoch's takeover.

Murdoch is seeking a 25 to 36 percent cut in the *Post*'s editorial work force. Management has issued this ultimatum to the Newspaper Guild: settle on our terms by April 14 or "there all kinds of things that can happen." The most likely is a lockout. Two "special" Sunday editions of the *Post* have already been published with nonunion labor just for practice.

—Shelley Kramer

Join the YSA!



The fight for jobs . . . for education . . . for an end to racism and sexism . . . The Young Socialist Alliance is actively involved in all these struggles and in the fight for a socialist America. If you agree with our goals . . . Join us!

- ☐ I want to join the YSA.
- ☐ Send me more information.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a six-month subscription to the 'Young Socialist,' the YSA's monthly newspaper. (50¢ for high school students.)

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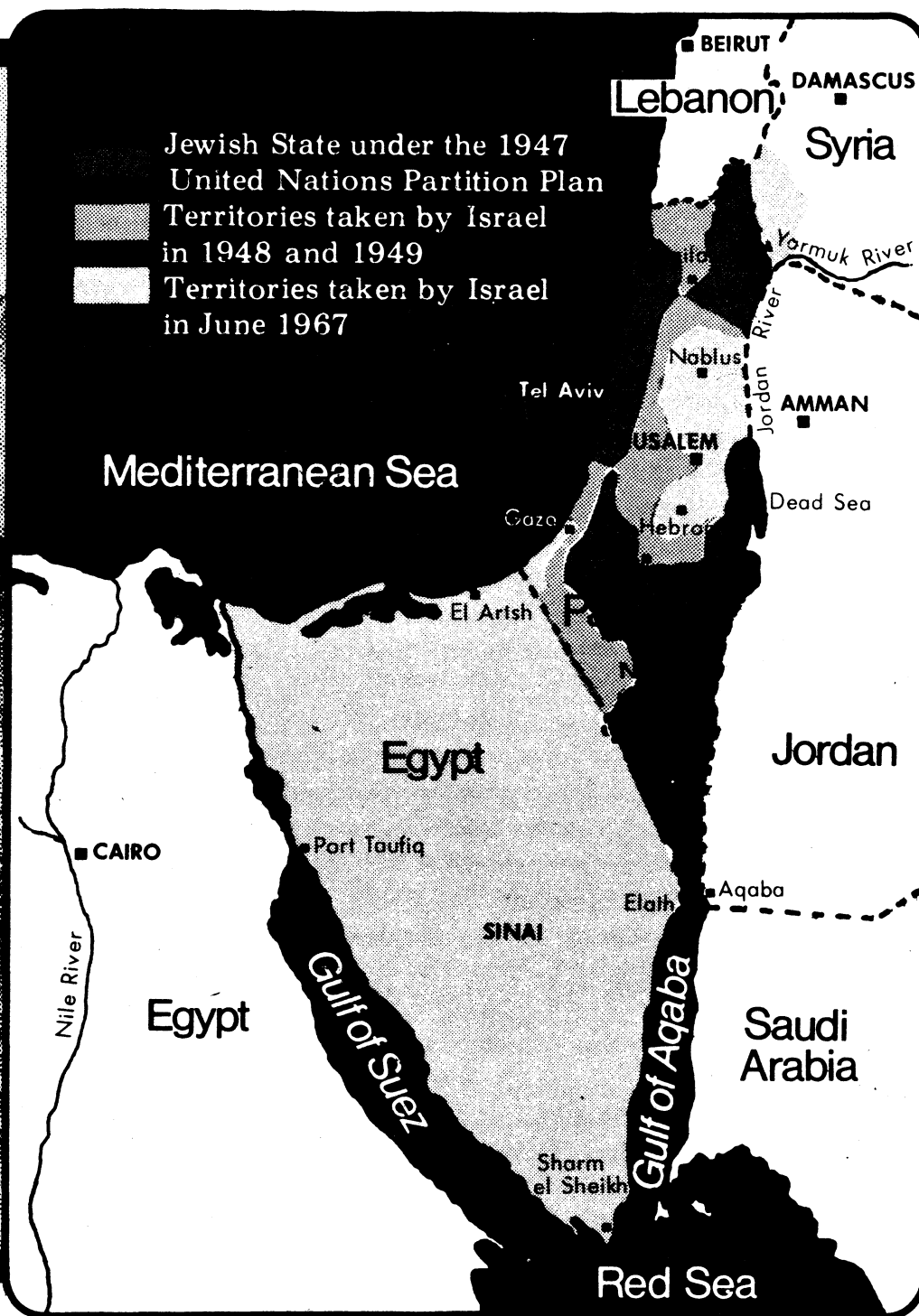
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By Peter Seidman

The Israeli government claims that its massive invasion of southern Lebanon—in which 250,000 Arabs have been driven from their homes and thousands have been killed or wounded—is justified “self-defense against Arab terrorism.”

But branding Palestinians who strike out against the Zionist occupation of their lands as “terrorists” turns reality on its head. It’s the old trick the oppressors always use: turning the *victims* into the criminals.

The Zionists have been able to get away with this swindle by cynically manipulating the worldwide sympathy that exists for the Jewish refugees from Hitler’s genocidal terror. These refugees swelled the population of Palestine during the 1930s and 1940s.

Most of the refugees actually wanted to enter the United States. But neither Washington nor any of the other imperialist “democracies” were willing to let them in.

The Zionists opposed any struggle to force Washington to open its doors to Hitler’s victims. This way, Palestine would appear to be the only realistic alternative for the Jews. As David Ben-Gurion, who would later become the first prime minister of Israel, explained in a 1938 letter:

“If Jews will have to choose between the refugees, saving Jews from concentration camps, and assisting a national museum in Palestine, mercy will have the upper hand and the whole energy of the people will be channeled into saving Jews from various countries. Zionism will be struck off the agenda not only in world public opinion, in Britain and the United States, but elsewhere in Jewish public opinion. If we allow a separation between the refugee problem and the Palestine problem, we are risking the existence of Zionism.”

This is a candid admission by a top leader of the Zionist movement that its goal of colonizing Palestine took priority over saving the lives of Jews during the darkest days of the holocaust.

‘Land without people’?

It wasn’t only that the Zionists failed to put up a real fight against the oppression of Jews. Zionism also transformed the unfortunate Jewish refugees into the oppressors of another people—the Palestinians.

Of course, Zionist propaganda claimed that the Jews were “a people without land” who would find in Palestine “a land without people.” But this was a lie.

Even in 1917—after the first twenty years of official Zionist colonization in Palestine—the Jews

were only 11 percent of the population.

The drive of this minority to establish and then maintain an exclusively Jewish state has been the real cause of the wars that have taken place again and again in that region. This situation threatens working people everywhere with nuclear destruction.

The pattern began with the 1947-48 war that established the Israeli state.

Zionist propagandists like to begin their account of this conflict on May 14, 1948—the day the British mandate over Palestine expired. They attempt to portray their founding war as a heroic battle by a persecuted people against overwhelming odds.

But this Hollywood version covers up the real background to the conflict.

During the preceding four decades, the Zionist colonization of Palestine was based on creating a Jewish enclave in which Palestinians were dispossessed from their farms, where the products of their labor were boycotted, and where they were not able to get jobs.

Meanwhile, the Zionists maneuvered with imperialist powers to obtain approval for the creation of an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine.

Partition

When the United Nations finally approved the partition of Palestine in November 1947, this was done despite overwhelming opposition not only from the Palestinian masses, but throughout the Middle East. Popular opposition was so deep that even the Arab regimes were pressured into unanimously opposing the new Zionist state in the UN vote.

The UN plan called for an Arab state in 45 percent of Palestine, with a population of about 725,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews. A Jewish state was to be set up on about 54 percent of Palestine, with a population of some 498,000 Jews and 407,000 Arabs.

The city of Jerusalem would be a separate international zone populated by some 105,000 Jews and 100,000 Arabs.

The Arabs argued that under this plan, the best part of Palestine—including nearly all the citrus fruit-bearing land, 80 percent of the cereal-raising areas, and 40 percent of Arab industry—would come under Jewish control.

They asked: How could the UN recognize the right of a half million Jews—most of them still nationals of foreign countries—to self-determination in Palestine, while refusing it to a half million Arabs forced to live in a Jewish state?

The Arab-Jewish clashes that broke out following approval of partition were over who would gain control of the areas left in the wake of phased withdrawals of British mandate troops.

So the 1948 war really began in 1947. Zionist forces—both in unofficial terrorist organizations such as the Irgun, and in the official Zionist army the Haganah—set out to grab as much territory as possible.

The Zionists also had another goal. They accepted the UN partition plan insofar as it legitimized their claim to a Jewish state. But they were unhappy with plans to make its population half Arab. So prior to the expiration of the mandate they drove out as many Arabs as possible through a series of terror raids.

Menachem Begin, who is prime minister of Israel today, first came to world attention for his leading role in the atrocities carried out by the Irgun.

On December 31, 1947, for example, the Irgun staged a bombing attack against Arab workers at the Haifa oil refinery, a site that previously had seen friendly relations between Jewish and Arab workers.

On April 12, 1948, 254 inhabitants of the peaceful Arab village of Deir Yassin were slaughtered by the Irgun.

These attacks were not restricted to the underground, unofficial Zionist terror squads.

Beginning in April 1948, the Haganah also went over to the offensive, launching thirteen military campaigns—eight of them *outside* the area assigned to the Jewish state by the UN.

1948 War

As a result of these Zionist attacks, more than 250,000 Palestinians were driven from their homes by May 14, 1948—the date generally given as the start of the first Arab-Israeli war. It was in this context that Arab League forces entered Palestine at the request of the Arabs who lived there.

The Zionists say they were greatly outnumbered in this war, claiming there were 70,000-80,000 Arab troops. But the Arabs were never able to dispatch more than 45,000 soldiers for the war effort, whereas the Israelis had been able to mobilize between 60,000-100,000 well-armed troops by July.

The Israelis’ conduct of the war made their goals clear. Far from stopping at the UN-established boundaries, the Zionists grabbed new territories and drove more than 1 million more Palestinians from their homes in Galilee, the West Bank, and the Sinai.



Forty years of Zionist terror

By the time the fighting stopped, the Israeli state was 2,500 square miles larger than the original UN boundaries.

Anti-imperialist?

Some apologists for Zionism portray the Israeli victory as a battle for self-determination against British imperialism.

It is true that the Zionists revolted against the British mandate after it became an obstacle—rather than a benefactor—to their drive for an exclusive Jewish state.

But this Zionist revolt was similar to the one staged by Ian Smith of Rhodesia against Britain when he declared unilateral independence in 1965 in a racist move against Black majority rule.

Neither the Zionists nor the white Rhodesians under Smith were engaging in struggles against imperialism. Both were simply preserving the privileges of a settler-colonial caste at the expense of the real victims of imperialism: Black Africans and Palestinians.

Blacks who oppose Smith's brutal regime in Rhodesia are not racist. And Arabs who oppose the Zionist state in Israel are not anti-Semitic. These Arabs are not against *Jews*, but against a settler-colonialist movement that oppresses them in the name of the Jews, and with the backing of imperialism.

Law of return

The armistice finally completed in 1949 produced no letup in Israeli expansionism.

The Zionists attacked individuals and small groups of Palestinians who sought to return to their lands.

Under the "law of return," the Israeli state permitted any Jew anywhere in the world to become a citizen. But Palestinian families who had lived there for centuries were barred.

This led to an embittered atmosphere and a series of scattered, individual Arab attacks on Israel.

Israel in turn used such incidents as a pretext for well-planned and deliberate military assaults on Arab territory.

For example, in October 1953, in reprisal for the murder of an Israeli woman and two children, Zionist military forces attacked the Jordanian village of Qibya, killing forty-two people and injuring fifteen others.

The UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) reported that between January 1, 1955, and September 30, 1956, the Zionists killed 496 Arabs

and injured 419, compared to Israeli casualties of 121 killed and 332 injured.

This pattern continues right through today's invasion of Lebanon.

One of these Israeli attacks precipitated a chain of events in Egypt that set the stage for the next big war in the Middle East.

On February 28, 1955, the Zionists staged a large-scale raid on Egypt's Gaza Strip, which borders Israel. Thirty-eight Arabs were killed and thirty-one injured. The UNTSO denied Israel's allegation that the attack was justified by "aggressive" Egyptian activities.

Nationalist upsurge in Egypt

The attack was met by public outrage in Egypt. Only three years earlier the corrupt monarchy of King Farouk had been overthrown by a group of young officers led by Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser. Farouk's downfall was in part a direct consequence of the humiliating defeats suffered by Egypt during the 1948 war with Israel.

The young officers who replaced Farouk reflected—in however limited a fashion—the upturn in nationalist consciousness that swept the colonial world after World War II. Under the pressure produced by the latest Israeli attack, these officers demanded that Nasser strengthen Egypt to ensure its defense from future raids.

When Washington refused to supply sufficient military aid to meet these needs, Nasser turned to the Soviet Union.

This provoked the ire of the cold warriors in Washington. On July 19, 1956, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles withdrew the U.S. government's offer to help Egypt finance the desperately needed Aswan Dam.

Striking back, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal on July 26. He offered to compensate the owners but insisted that future canal revenues would finance the Aswan Dam.

This move was tremendously popular among the Arab masses. The August 8, 1956, *Militant* reported: "A crowd of 'hundreds of thousands went wild with enthusiasm. . . ."

"The reaction was similar in the other Arab countries. In Jordan's capital, thousands demonstrated in the streets. . . . In Khartoum, Sudanese students marched. . . ."

"In response to popular pressure the Syrian parliament unanimously adopted a resolution declaring Syria's 'full support' . . . 'Crowds dance in the streets of Arab capitals,' says the July 30 *Christian Science Monitor*."

Other demonstrations took place in Beirut, Casablanca, Amman, Tunis, Karachi, Tripoli, Baghdad, and at oil installations in Saudi Arabia.

Sinai invasion

But this "latest blow by the colonial revolution against imperialist domination of the Middle East," the *Militant* reported, "brought immediate threats of force and 'massive economic retaliation' from Britain, France, and the United States."

A front-page editorial in the November 11, 1956, *Militant* made clear what happened next:

"The facts are plain: British and French imperialism in collusion with the Israeli government made plans for an armed attack on Egypt. British and French forces were concentrated on the nearby island of Cyprus. . . . Israel began a total military mobilization. When everything was ready the Israeli army invaded Egypt, heading towards Suez."

"Quickly Britain and France declared that shipping in the Suez Canal was endangered . . . and issued a 24-hour ultimatum that the Egyptians withdraw ten miles behind the canal while British and French troops took it over to 'protect shipping.' Israel quickly 'accepted' the British-French ultimatum which would give it possession . . . of the Sinai peninsula."

The Israeli government declared, of course, that its invasion of the Sinai was necessary to ward off an imminent Arab attack.

But as Hanson Baldwin, military specialist for the *New York Times*, wrote after inspecting military installations on the eve of the invasion, "there was no factual military indication of any Egyptian attack."

What had really happened?

The Israeli government had decided October 25 to initiate what Moshe Dayan called a "preventive" war.

By March 8, 1957, Israel was finally forced to withdraw from the Sinai under heavy U.S. pressure.

During the next ten years, Israel continued its cold-blooded policy of launching attacks on Arab territories.

During the spring of 1967, Israeli provocations against Syria increased sharply. Armed "tractors" were sent to "farm" in what was supposed to be a demilitarized border zone. When Syrian soldiers fired on these vehicles, Israel—as was its pattern—retaliated in force.

In one such reprisal on April 7, Israeli planes bombed and strafed Syrian border villages.

Like the Zionists' February 28, 1955, raid in Egypt, this Israeli action set off a chain of events leading to war.

Outrage at the Israeli action forced Nasser, and leaders of other Arab states, to pledge support to Syria. As a result, the Zionists also stepped up their military presence.

Six-day war

On May 22 Nasser gave a speech explaining that he had received intelligence reports that Israel was concentrating some eleven to thirteen brigades on the Syrian border. Egypt entered a mutual defense agreement with Syria, pledging to enter the battle "from the first minute" if Syria was attacked. To bolster his warning against Zionist aggression, Nasser moved forces into the Sinai—making this threat credible by requesting UN forces to withdraw.

Egyptian troops occupied Sharm el Sheik, closing the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping.

All these moves were taken only to pressure the Zionist regime not to attack Syria. As James Reston explained in the *New York Times*, Egypt did "not want war, . . . [was] certainly not ready for war."

But the Israeli government saw an opportunity to seize upon Nasser's moves to strike new blows against the Arabs. On June 3 the Israeli cabinet voted to launch another "preventive war."

Two days later, at 8 a.m., Israeli planes streaked out of the skies over Egypt, devastating its air force before most of its planes could even get off the ground.

In a six day blitzkrieg, Israel conquered all of the Sinai, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan River, and the city of Jerusalem.

The Israelis dropped napalm—a burning liquid that sticks to the skin and was later used by the U.S. government in Vietnam—on Egyptian troops retreating across the Sinai desert. Some 20,000 Egyptians and 25,000 Jordanians were reported killed.

Another giant wave of Palestinians were driven from their homes. On the second day of fighting, Israeli planes attacked the three big West Bank UN refugee camps at Jericho housing 60,000 people.

The *New York Times* reported June 12, "Senior United Nations officials who have sifted many reports . . . believe that a pattern of expulsion is emerging. They say the Israelis appear to be con-

Continued on next page

45,000 demand 'Peace Now!'

Massive protest reveals split in Israel

By David Frankel

One of the biggest political demonstrations in Israel's thirty-year history—if not the biggest—took place April 1. A crowd estimated at 45,000 persons by a Reuters dispatch, and at 30,000 by *New York Daily News* correspondent Joseph Fried, demonstrated in Tel Aviv under the slogan: "Better peace in Israel than a greater Israel."

The "Peace Now" movement, as it is known, was organized by a group of 300 army reserve officers. According to Fried, their demand has been for "the Israeli government to change its priorities and to adopt a policy involving compromise to obtain peace and security."

Petitions at the rally addressed to Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin said: "Don't endanger peace for the sake of settlements."

Begin had earlier told the reservists—who called on him to

take a more conciliatory line in negotiations with the Egyptian government—that they were a minority in Israel and should leave the negotiations to him. But the size of the April 1 demonstration indicated a deep split in Israeli society over Begin's openly expansionist policies.

In fact, a poll conducted between March 7 and March 15 found that 60 percent of Israelis opposed Begin's policy of building new settlements in the occupied territories during negotiations with Cairo.

The crowd in Tel Aviv, according to a dispatch in the April 2 *New York Times*, was mostly of military age. It is the youth, after all, who will be called upon to shed their blood for Begin's dreams of territorial expansion.

Although the "Peace Now" demonstration was organized by loyal supporters of the Israeli state, it represents a deadly danger for Zionism.

Right now, the demands for peace are being raised in the context of the negotiations with Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat. But as time passes, more and more Israelis are going to confront the fact that there will be no peace as long as the Palestinian people are denied their rights.

By expelling the Palestinian people from their homeland in order to establish a Jewish state, the Zionist movement guaranteed that there would be a continuing conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Endless warfare, ever-greater economic sacrifices, and the erosion of democratic rights in a militarized society—that is the price of maintaining the Israeli state.

The tens of thousands who demonstrated in Tel Aviv don't realize it yet, but in reality their protest was against the perspective offered by Zionism. In the long run, protests

against specific manifestations of Zionism will help to create an atmosphere in which the Jewish masses begin to question basic assumptions about the Israeli state itself.

In the past, the Zionist regime pretended that it wanted peace, not Arab territory. Now many of its own supporters see that this was a lie.

This is true not only in Israel but also in the United States. When tens of thousands of Israeli Jews take to the streets and accuse their own government of putting territorial expansion ahead of hopes for peace, it cannot help but have a deep impact on supporters of Israel around the world.

In this situation, socialists need to redouble their efforts to explain the need for a democratic, secular Palestine—a country in which both Jews and Arabs could live together without discrimination.

...Zionism

Continued from preceding page

centrating on pushing out the inhabitants of the big refugee camps."

The UN estimated that as of September 1967, the number of Arabs driven from their homes was more than 350,000. This included: 200,000 from the West Bank; 100,000 from the Golan Heights; and 35,000 from Gaza and Sinai.

These hundreds of thousands of Arabs, not "terrorists," were the target of the Israeli war drive.

The expansionist character of Israel was grimly proven once again. The Zionist state was now four times its original size.

Palestinian movement

The Zionists used these already swollen borders as launching pads for yet more assaults.

Between 1967 and 1970 Israel launched scores of naval, air, artillery, and commando attacks on Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt. Cairo and other major Egyptian population centers were bombed. Entire villages in Jordan were destroyed in "retaliation" for terrorist raids.

In 1972 and 1973 Israeli attacks increased, focusing on southern Lebanon and Syria. These were centers of the Palestinian movement after the bloody massacres in September 1970 carried out by King Hussein of Jordan—with Israeli approval.

Israeli attacks on southern Lebanon were so heavy that they contributed to the outbreak of civil war in that country by forcing tens of thousands of Palestinians off their farm lands and into Beirut.

Following 1967 the independent Palestinian movement gained strength and recognition as the voice of people who had previously been considered just a weak, dispersed refugee population. The war also created for the first time Egyptian and Syrian refugees.

All this put immense pressure on the Arab



A September 1969 raid by Zionists on the West Bank of the Gulf of Suez left these Egyptian truck drivers dead. Such attacks helped lay the basis for the 1973 Mideast war.

regimes to take action against the Zionist cancer in their midst. In this sense the 1967 war created a situation in which a new outbreak of fighting was only a matter of time.

Détente

This is not to say that the Arab regimes sought such a confrontation with Israel. These semicolonial capitalist governments were too weak to stand up to U.S. imperialism and its Israeli servant without mobilizing their own masses. But such mass mobilizations, the Arab regimes feared, might get out of control, threatening to topple capitalism as well.

As a way out of this problem, Egypt had hoped that its ally, the Soviet Union, could force concess-

ions from the Zionists and Washington through diplomatic activity, sparing Cairo the need to take more direct action itself.

But the détente between Moscow and Washington put an end to such hopes. Dissatisfied with the insufficient level of military and diplomatic help it was getting from the Soviet Union, the Egyptian government expelled all Soviet advisers in 1972.

In a major turn, Egypt began looking to U.S. imperialism as a potential benefactor. It hoped that Washington could impose some kind of Mideast settlement that would offer the Arab regimes an escape from the pressure they were under—on the one hand from the demands of the masses in their own countries, and from Zionist aggression on the other.

The increasing wave of Zionist terrorism leading up to the 1973 war, however, showed that Washington was unwilling to take any meaningful actions to curb the Israeli garrison state. Instead, Israel was armed to the teeth as U.S. imperialism's main bulwark against the colonial revolution in the Middle East.

The turn to Washington having proved unsuccessful, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat was compelled to take some action on his own.

Arabs fight back

Sadat feared Israel's occupation of the Sinai was becoming a *fait accompli*. He was alarmed over the deteriorating morale this was producing in the Egyptian army. And demonstrations demanding action against the Zionist occupation showed that his regime was rapidly losing domestic support.

So on October 6 Egyptian troops crossed over the Suez Canal into Egyptian territory in the Israeli-occupied Sinai. Syrian troops moved into Syrian land in the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights.

Two days later the Zionists moved to answer this "attack."

By October 10 Israeli forces had passed the 1967 cease-fire lines in Syria and were regrouping for a march on Damascus. This was accompanied by intensive terror bombing of Syrian cities. Israeli air raids inflicted 100 civilian casualties in Damascus and 400 in the industrial city of Homs.

Similarly, Israel lashed out at civilian targets in Egypt. *New York Times* correspondent Henry Tanner reported October 13 that "the raids had caused 500 casualties among Egyptian civilians up to Thursday [October 11] Egyptian officials said . . . that many Egyptian military casualties in the Sinai were victims of bombing by napalm. . . ."

Although the Zionists—who had operated on the racist assumption that the Arabs would not be able to fight as effectively as they had—were shaken by the initial unfolding of the conflict, they were able to fight their way onto some 400 square miles of Egyptian territory west of the Suez Canal by the time a UN cease-fire in place was voted October 22.

This military comeback was largely the result of a massive arms resupply by Washington that began on the eighth day of the conflict. At least twenty-five Phantom jet fighters had been flown to Israel by October 19. Fifty more A-4 Skyhawk bombers were en route by sea, along with massive air and sea shipments of tanks, missiles and ammunition.

Israel broke the cease-fire twice, grabbing another

Books on the Mideast conflict

Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?, by Maxime Rodinson; 128 pp., \$1.75.

Israel and the Arab Revolution: Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism, by Gus Horowitz; 64 pp., \$1.00.

Self-Determination in the Mideast: A Debate From the Pages of the 'Militant' and 'Daily World', by David Frankel and Tom Foley; 30 pp., \$.60.

Roots of the Mideast War: Selections from the 'International Socialist Review'; 46 pp., \$.75.

War in the Middle East: The Socialist View, by David Frankel, Dick Roberts, and Tony Thomas; 31 pp., \$.60.

The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation, by Abram Leon; 170 pp., \$2.95.

How Can the Jews Survive? A Socialist Answer to Zionism, by George Novack; 22 pp., \$.25.

Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism: An Answer to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, by Peter Seidman; 31 pp., \$.60.

Order from PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 WEST STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014.

350 square miles of Egyptian territory west of the canal and encircling the Egyptian III Corps army.

But these adventures roused the Kremlin's fears that the destruction of the Egyptian army would represent too big a victory for imperialism in the Middle East. Moscow threatened to send in troops to counter such a development.

Washington ordered a worldwide U.S. military nuclear alert to force the Soviet Union to back down.

Only after bringing the world to this brink of atomic confrontation did the Israelis finally agree to a third ceasefire on November 11.

Two months later Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat signed the Sinai disengagement accord.

Under the terms of this agreement, Israel maintained almost unchanged its occupation of the Sinai peninsula and other Arab lands.

Pipedreams

This ongoing Zionist conquest is the background to the recent events in the Middle East.

Sadat's willingness to sign a separate disengagement pact with Israel in 1973 was a step along the diplomatic path that led to his *de facto* recognition of Israel by visiting Jerusalem in November 1977.

The Egyptian president hopes that in exchange for this major concession to the Zionists, Washington will ultimately force them to make some concessions of their own.

But the current invasion of southern Lebanon exposes Sadat's strategy as a pipedream. Sadat's trip to Jerusalem emboldened the Israeli regime. The "peace negotiations" only ensured Israel that there would be no Egyptian military pressure on its Sinai front. As a result, the Zionists struck out in a calculated attack, using the March 11 Palestinian raid at Tel Aviv as a pretext.

As this review of the history of conflicts in the Middle East should make clear, Israel's claims that its military actions have only been "self-defense" against terrorism are a cruel hoax.

The real targets of these attacks have not been a handful of terrorists but the more than 3 million Palestinians in refugee camps and forced exile throughout the world.

The real targets are the Arab masses as a whole who support the Palestinians' just demand to return to their homeland.

The real targets have been any anti-imperialist moves by the Arab regimes under pressure from these masses (as when Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal).

The real targets have been moves toward social progress in the Middle East (as shown when Israel sided with reactionary forces during the Lebanese civil war).

Ironically, despite Israel's claim to be a "haven" for the Jews, the Jewish masses inside Israel have themselves paid a heavy price for Zionist aggression.

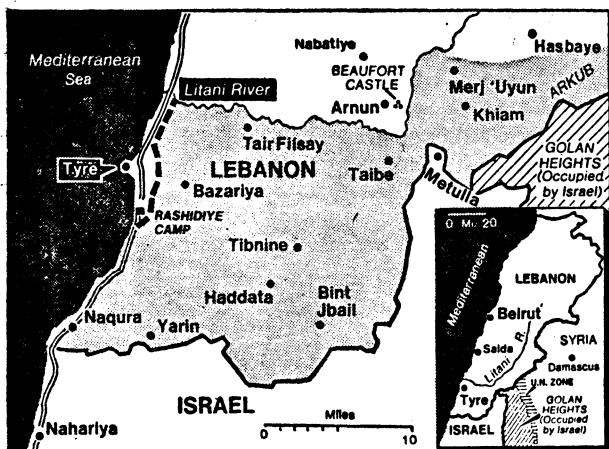
They live in the most highly taxed country in the world. The war budget is 35 percent of the Gross National Product. The cost of living has soared 30 percent in the past three months.

Proportional to its population, Israel has suffered 68 percent more casualties in clashes with the Arabs since 1948 than the United States has had in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam combined. *Haven for the Jews, indeed!*

The geographical area of the Israeli garrison state is four times bigger than it was in 1948. The frequency of Israel's military strikes against neighboring Arab lands is increasing. And the stakes in these confrontations in a vital area of the world are of nuclear proportions.

This expansionism is built into the Zionist state. Israel can maintain itself as an exclusive homeland for a Jewish minority only at the expense of the Arab majority in the region.

Genuine peace can only come about when this warring, racist monster is replaced with what the Palestinian masses are demanding: a democratic, secular Palestine where Muslim, Christian, and Jew can live together as equals.



Map shows Israeli land grab in southern Lebanon. Latest Zionist attack once again poses danger of nuclear showdown over Middle East.

NOW conference discusses ERA strategy, anti-'Bakke' fight

By Diane Wang

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—How can women win the Equal Rights Amendment? Does an all-out drive for the ERA mean sacrificing the struggle for other women's rights? About 150 women debated these and other questions here at the April 1-2 mid-Atlantic regional conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

In her keynote speech NOW National Secretary Sandra Roth outlined various activities for the ERA, including the march on Washington called by national NOW for July 9.

"This march is going to be the largest in feminist history," Roth declared. "We believe our movement has to have a national focus, and we're calling out the troops."

Despite this ambitious projection, there was unfortunately little discussion of the July 9 march here. Resolutions from the minority women's and union women's workshops were passed, urging special efforts to ensure the participation of the Black community and labor in the march. Hopefully that discussion and planning will be continued at other NOW conferences scheduled in coming weeks.

Discussion of other issues was pressed during a question-and-answer session for candidates seeking election to the NOW National Board.

What does NOW's focus on extending the deadline for ERA ratification mean for work on other issues, members repeatedly asked. How can campaigns for other women's rights be detrimental to winning the ERA? Even though there is a "time bomb" deadline for the ERA, shouldn't NOW also respond when abortion clinics are fire bombed?

Mid-Atlantic Regional Director Judy Knee recalled the position taken by the last NOW national board meeting. The organization will devote all its resources to the ERA and will not initiate new efforts around other issues, she said. But, if a crisis occurs around other issues, NOW will respond.

But what that means in practice was shown in the conference's debate about the April 15 protest against the *Bakke* decision. A resolution from the D.C. chapter calling for NOW participation on April 15 was the most hotly contested vote of the weekend.

The *Bakke* case poses a crisis for affirmative action. The Supreme Court may rule this spring

that affirmative-action quotas for national minorities and women are unconstitutional.

Jo Freeman of the D.C. NOW chapter pointed out the importance of NOW being at the April 15 protest. Not only does affirmative action directly affect women, it is also a key issue for the Black community. "We talk about outreach to the Black community," she said. "Now we must put ourselves on the line."

But NOW leaders argued that the ERA emergency left no time for the April 15 rally.

The vote on the *Bakke* protest resolution was so close that it required a head count. An initial count defeated the resolution fifty-five to fifty-nine. A second count was also close: fifty-six for the protest and sixty-three opposed.

Another issue discussed was support for organized labor. A member of the Charleston NOW chapter asked the conference to go on record for the repeal of section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act. That section allows states to outlaw the union shop.

The resolution was defeated. Some voted against it because they were confused about what Taft-Hartley says. Others argued it was not a feminist issue.

Sandra Roth claimed the resolution was "premature." Even though repeal of the Taft-Hartley law might have feminist implications, Roth said, she didn't believe it was a feminist issue.

Other NOW members disagreed. Twelve of the fifteen states that have not passed the ERA also have union-busting laws authorized by section 14-B, pointed out one member.

Helen Schiff of Newark linked the *Bakke* issue and the issue of labor support. "It is political suicide," she warned the conference, for NOW to cut itself off from the Black community or the union movement. "These are our most important allies. Labor is potentially the most powerful force for social change in this country."

In other action, the conference adopted regional bylaws that reaffirm NOW's nonexclusionary character. The bylaws say that NOW does not discriminate against any member on any basis, including political affiliation or physical handicaps. Those categories are not currently included in the national bylaws. The conference also voted to support a change of the national bylaws to include those categories.

Rallies for women's rights

Around the country women are taking the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights to the public with teach-ins and rallies:

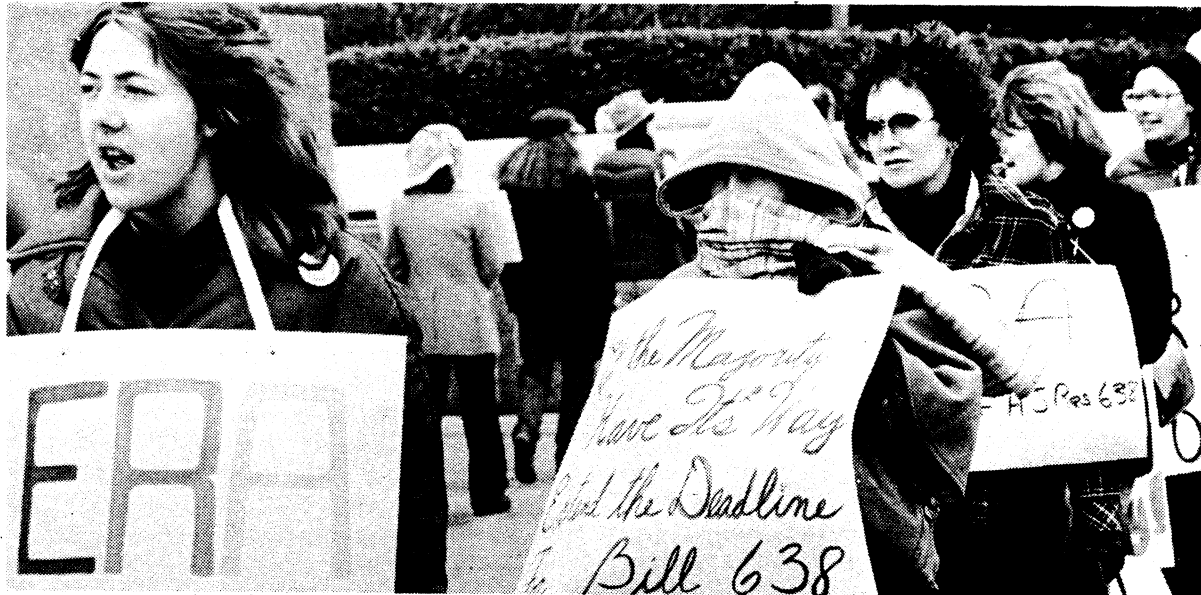
The San Francisco National Organization for Women (NOW) is sponsoring a debate on the California ballot initiative to cut off funds for Medi-Cal abortions. The debate will be at 8 p.m. on April 11 at Anza Elementary School, 40 Vega Street, behind Sears's Geary Street store.

The Philadelphia NOW chapter urges supporters to gather at that city's main post office, Thirtieth and Market, at 4:30 p.m. on April 17. A picket line will mark the last day for submitting income tax returns. The theme of the protest is, "We pay first-class taxes, but we're second-class citizens."

The St. Louis NOW chapter is planning a rally for the ERA on April 29.

The Chicago Committee for the ERA has won considerable trade-union support for its April 29 rally. Endorsers include: Clara Day, international vice-president of the Coalition for Labor Union Women; Jim Balanoff, director of District 31 United Steelworkers of America; Patricia Epps, executive director of the United Postal Women; Marge Jindrich, vice-president of the United Auto Workers Region 4 women's committee; and Frank Rosen, president of the United Electrical Workers District Council 11.

On May 13 and 14 rallies for the ERA will mark Mother's Day. NOW chapters in California, Louisville, New Jersey, New Orleans, and Philadelphia are planning actions that weekend.



NOW picketed in Newark on March 25 for extension of ERA deadline



UDALL

McDonald vs. Udall

Socialist confronts Arizona Democrat on women's rights



McDONALD

By Eloise Linger

TUSCON, Ariz.—Rep. Morris Udall appeared here March 27 at a “town meeting” organized by his campaign committee as part of his bid for reelection. The *Arizona Daily Star* reported:

“He said he found it ‘stimulating to see real people.’

“One of those ‘real people’ was Betsy McDonald, a Socialist candidate for Congress, who marched to the microphone, accused Udall of not adequately supporting feminist causes and challenged him to a debate.”

As McDonald approached the microphone Udall recalled her antiwar activities. He introduced her to the crowd of about 150, saying, “Now she’s a candidate . . . and she’s in the Socialist Workers Party.”

McDonald reminded Udall and the crowd of the increased attacks on the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, and affirmative action. “In spite of strong majority sentiment,” she said, “the harsh political reality is that all women’s rights are in danger.”

McDonald announced the State of Emergency for the ERA declared by the National Organization for Women, which is asking Congress to extend the deadline for ERA ratification. She urged Udall to call an “emergency town meeting” for a discussion of how to win women’s rights.

The socialist candidate reminded Udall, “When you were running for president, you said that you would use the full weight of your office in an effort to win ratification of the ERA.”

“Well, Carter is in that seat,” interrupted Udall, as if there were nothing left for him to do.

McDonald pointed out how if elected she would use her congressional office to alert the public to the political reality facing women, to organize town meetings, teach-ins, and demonstrations for women’s rights.

Udall had no reply to that.

McDonald also pointed out that Udall had joined the majority in Congress in voting against medi-

caid funding for abortions. She went on to decry recent legislation passed by the Arizona House to prohibit state funding for abortion except to save the life of the woman. Udall, the state’s leading Democrat, interrupted to disclaim responsibility: “Betsy, you know I don’t have any control over what the Arizona legislature does.”

McDonald concluded her remarks by noting that women’s rights are one of “many issues—such as inflation, unemployment, the rights of undocumented workers, and military spending—on which we have fundamental differences. These issues deserve thorough discussion. That’s why I am asking you for a public debate.”

As the *Arizona Daily Star* reported, “He avoided the pointed debate question by saying he hoped to

see her throughout the campaign and promised to attend one of her campaign rallies.”

A young county worker asked Udall whether he would support the Pima County workers if they had to go on strike to win a cost-of-living wage increase. Udall replied, “I supported county employees in organizing, but don’t ask me to stand up here and say I support your effort to violate the laws of Arizona by striking.”

After two or three more voters asked him about other issues, Udall interjected, “I see Betsy’s still here. Let’s find out what this meeting thinks about ERA.” After a show of hands, Udall announced that four-fifths of those present favored ratification.

For the first time the audience, many of them women, responded with a strong round of applause.

Ky. Democrats stab ERA in back

By Helen Custer and Amy Husk

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Kentucky’s Democratic Gov. Julian Carroll, notorious in this state for his role in trying to break the United Mine Workers strike, sparked anger here when the state legislature voted March 14 to rescind ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Although the rescision was later vetoed by Lt. Gov. Thelma Stovall, the role of the Democratic Party in engineering the anti-ERA vote was clear.

Until a few days before the rescision vote, it had appeared that anti-ERA forces would fail to reverse Kentucky’s ratification of the ERA. But suddenly on March 14 anti-ERA legislators added a rescision amendment to a military spending bill.

The Democratic majority in the legislature then forced through the rescision amendment.

Three senators previously on record in favor of the ERA helped push the amendment through.

Governor Carroll—who in the past claimed to support the ERA—announced he had “no position” on rescision. He even left town after the amendment passed to avoid having to veto it. Stovall vetoed the bill in his absence.

The Kentucky Civil Liberties Union, which gave Carroll an award in 1974 for his work on behalf of the ERA, demanded that he relinquish the award.

On March 18, 200 women rallied at the state capitol in Frankfort to pledge a continued fight for the ERA.

A few months ago, angry miners had demonstrated at the state capitol to demand that Carroll stop using state troopers against their strike. One of their signs read: “Democrat Party—friend of labor?”

After March 14, women can answer: the Democratic Party is no friend of labor or women.

Anti-abortion violence still a threat

By Diane Wang

“Keep abortion safe and legal,” declares one slogan of the women’s movement.

Attempts to end public funding for abortions, to “regulate” abortion clinics out of existence, and to add a clause to the constitution protecting the “right to life” of fetuses are all aimed at making abortion illegal.

In the meantime anti-abortion vigilantes are trying to make abortion unsafe right now. Their

As I see it

campaign to bomb and burn abortion clinics and harass women getting abortions is spreading.

The anti-abortion terrorists made national news in mid-February when they firebombed the Concerned Women’s Clinic in Cleveland. A man threw gasoline in a lab technician’s face and set the place on fire. At the time there were twenty patients in the clinic, one in the midst of having an abortion.

The anti-abortionists have not retreated since then. Two women from the clinic reported the crime to the police. As part of their report they had to give their home addresses and phone numbers. Soon after that they began to get vicious calls at their homes from anti-abortionists.

The lab technician who had been assaulted at the clinic became a special target. She was harassed so badly at home—with rocks thrown at her windows—that she was forced to move.

The police say they’ve made no progress in finding the arsonist. Although they have a drawing of the suspect done from witnesses’ descriptions, they refuse to release it.

Since the February attack, another Cleveland clinic, Preterm, has had two bomb threats requiring the arson squad. Jackie Pappalardo from Preterm told the *Militant* that the clinic is still receiving threats in the mail.

Assaults have not been limited to Ohio. On March 11 about sixty anti-abortionists showed up to harass women at the Concord Medical Center in Chicago. A dozen were arrested.

The Chicago attack was carried out by a group calling itself People Expressing a Concern for

Everyone (PEACE). This group also organized invasions of clinics around the country last January 6.

The group apparently chose its name in a hypocritical attempt to identify itself with the anti-Vietnam war movement—just as other groups have called abortion “racist” and “genocide” in an attempt to appeal to Blacks.

But these bigots would have more appropriately called themselves Rioters Opposed to Abortion Rights (ROAR). Like their counterparts in Boston’s ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the racist antibusing group, the anti-abortion terrorists have nothing to do with “rights” or “peace”—just the opposite.

Neither the cops nor the courts have lifted a finger to prosecute these vigilantes. Democrats and Republicans from the White House on down have encouraged them with more and more laws restricting abortion rights.

To halt the attacks on clinics and put the anti-abortion thugs out of business, the women’s movement needs to go on a campaign to alert the public to this new threat. That’s the first step to organizing the kind of protests that can force the bigots to back down.

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

New Rhodesian gov't preserves white privilege

By Ernest Harsch

At a closed-door ceremony in Salisbury March 21, three prominent Zimbabwean figures were sworn in as members of a "transitional" coalition regime with Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith. This was the first step in the implementation of an agreement signed March 3 that will supposedly lead to the establishment of a largely Black "majority rule" government by the end of the year.

The three Zimbabweans included two well-known nationalist leaders, Abel Muzorewa and Ndabaningi Sithole, both of whom had led significant struggles against the racist white minority regime in the past. The third was Chief Jeremiah Chirau, a government-paid tribal figurehead.

Along with Smith, who remains prime minister, the three are now part of the new Executive Council, which has been billed as a "governing" body. Decisions are to be made by consensus, giving Smith automatic veto power. Smith and Muzorewa told reporters that a new cabinet would soon be set up, with a Black and a white minister chosen for each post.

Two days earlier, at a rally in the Salisbury suburb of Highfield that reportedly drew a crowd of 150,000 Blacks, Muzorewa hailed the agreement signed with Smith as the inauguration of a "genuine transfer of power from the minority to the majority."

But as it now stands, the Salisbury accord falls far short of meeting the aspirations of Zimbabwe's 6.7 million Africans for real majority rule. Though some Black figures have now been brought into the government and "democratic" elections have been promised for later this year, direct control continues to rest in white hands. The police force, the military, the courts, and the civil service are still dominated and run by the same whites who have administered the racist system of minority rule for years.

In addition, the privileged white population still owns 80 percent of the country's wealth and about half its land.



IAN SMITH: continuing the war against Black guerrillas

The agreements that Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau put their signatures to include provisions specifically designed to retain many of these white privileges for years to come. The new draft constitution contains clauses that provide, among other things, for prompt compensation for any expropriated white property.

To safeguard against alterations to the constitution without white approval, whites are to be given a disproportionate number of seats in a new parliament, as well as the power to block any constitutional amendments.

Smith has been able to win Muzorewa's and Sithole's participation in this scheme by playing on their factional rivalries with two other Zimbabwean nationalist leaders, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, who are allied within the Patriotic Front and who took no part in the Salisbury accord. (On March 13, Nkomo and Mugabe reaffirmed their willingness to negotiate with the American and British governments instead.)

By including Muzorewa and Sithole in the government, Smith hopes to utilize their influence with the Zimbabwean population to dampen the struggle for real Black majority rule.

But from Smith's viewpoint, Muzorewa's backing will be most important in the efforts to sell the accord to the Zimbabwean population. His ability to draw such a sizable crowd was interpreted as a sign of his continued mass support among the urban population of Salisbury.

Nevertheless, the turn-out was well below what Muzorewa's United African National Council had projected and somewhat smaller than earlier rallies held in 1976 and 1977. The mass attendance at the rally, moreover, cannot be seen as signifying Black support for the provisions of the accord safeguarding white privileges, but for the promises of Black advancement and eventual majority rule.

Smith has clearly set up his "transitional" regime in an effort to buy time

and to stave off mounting pressure for real social change.

The ability of Muzorewa and Sithole to sidetrack the struggle for freedom still remains to be proved. In the meantime, Smith is continuing the war against the Zimbabwean guerrillas and against the rural population as a whole.

Shortly before the agreement was reached, regulations in some rural areas were tightened to include shoot-on-sight orders against anyone found outside their villages during curfew hours. And on March 7, just four days after the accord was signed, the regime imposed a curfew on some of the suburbs around Salisbury itself.

The same day, the regime announced that its forces had crossed the border into neighboring Zambia to attack a guerrilla base of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, led by Nkomo. It claimed that it killed thirty-eight guerrillas in what was described as a "self-defense operation."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Record abstention marks Colombian elections

The first phase of the Colombian elections was held February 26.

This round of balloting elected members of national and departmental legislatures and city councils. The second phase—primarily focused on election of the president of Colombia—will be held in June.

As expected, the two main capitalist parties, the Liberals and Conservatives, won the overwhelming majority of the votes cast—more than 95 percent, with the Liberals winning a clear majority. Like the American Democrats and Republicans, there is little to distinguish these two parties from one another, so much so that until 1974 they had a formal agreement to alternately provide presidents and divide other posts between them!

But the Liberal-Conservative two-party system could take little comfort from their "victory." Out of 12.5 million registered voters, only 3.7 million voted—the highest rate of abstention in Colombian history.

As Jorge Child, a well-known Colombian economist, explained in the March 5 *El Espectador*, "According to more or less approximate estimates, the Liberal Party obtained in the February 26 elections some 13 percent of

the potential 14 million of electors over the age of 18. The Conservative Party obtained 9 percent. . . ."

The March 6 issue of the Trotskyist weekly *Revolución Socialista* commented: "The very high rate of abstention showed not only the traditional lack of political interest on the part of the masses, but also the growing deterioration of the two-party arrangement. What was registered was exclusively the patronage vote—the vote of those held captive by the public-job system and the favoritism through which the two-party Liberal-Conservative monopoly controls the state."

The *Revolución Socialista* editorial also noted that the showing of the left slates had been poor, attributing this to the division among various slates and the class-collaborationist character of the slates supported by the largest workers parties, the Moscow-oriented Communist Party and the Maoist Independent Revolutionary Workers Movement. Both these slates are headed by capitalist politicians.

As a result the left vote diminished, as did the number of seats held by radicals in the municipal and departmental bodies. This decline is particu-

larly notable, since the campaign was waged in the context of a big rise in working-class struggles symbolized by the general strike of September 14, 1977.

The Moscow Stalinists' slate received 112,000 votes, the Maoists' 52,000.

The two slates that tried to present a class-struggle alternative—based on complete independence from all capitalist parties and politicians—received 13,400 votes.

Some 10,000 of those were cast for UNIOS, which started out as a bloc of four groups: the Socialist Workers Party and Revolutionary Communist League, both of which are sympathizing organizations of the Trotskyist Fourth International; and two other groups, the Revolutionary Socialist Union and the Breakaway Communist Organization.

After UNIOS was launched the Socialist Workers Party split into two public factions, one grouped around *Revolución Socialista* and the other, the Bolshevik Tendency, around *El Socialista*. The *El Socialista* current broke away from UNIOS and ran candidates in some areas, receiving 3,400 votes.

An article by Enrique Morales published in the April 3 *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* noted the important gains made by revolutionary socialists through their participation in the first phase of the elections: "This campaign was greeted with enthusiasm throughout the country. More than 1,000 workers candidates were announced and support committees for [UNIOS presidential candidate] Socorro Ramírez sprang up throughout the country. More than 60,000 persons attended meetings to hear her speak."

Revolución Socialista made a similar assessment. Among other things, it emphasized that the UNIOS campaign was turned "into a tribune for the strikes and demands of the proletariat," and that it showed "better identity and unity among the majority of the forces of the Fourth International" in Colombia, as well as "convergence with other organizations."

Revolución Socialista said, "All these gains have made it possible for the socialist current to begin to fuse with the class-struggle tendencies now arising out of the workers and popular movement," and called for building on these achievements during the second phase of the elections.

Ireland: new socialist paper launched

[*Socialist Republic*, the new monthly newspaper of the Movement for a Socialist Republic (Irish section of the Fourth International) and the People's Democracy, was launched at a public meeting in Dublin on February 3. The speakers included Bernadette (Devlin) McAliskey; Michael Farrell of People's Democracy, one of the leaders of the Northern Ireland civil-rights movement; and Tariq Ali, editor of *Socialist Challenge* and a leader of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

[The publication of a joint paper by the MSR and PD is a step in a process of fusion between the two organizations. McAliskey is a member of neither organization, but has spoken in favor of the greatest possible unity among the organizations adhering to revolutionary Marxism.]

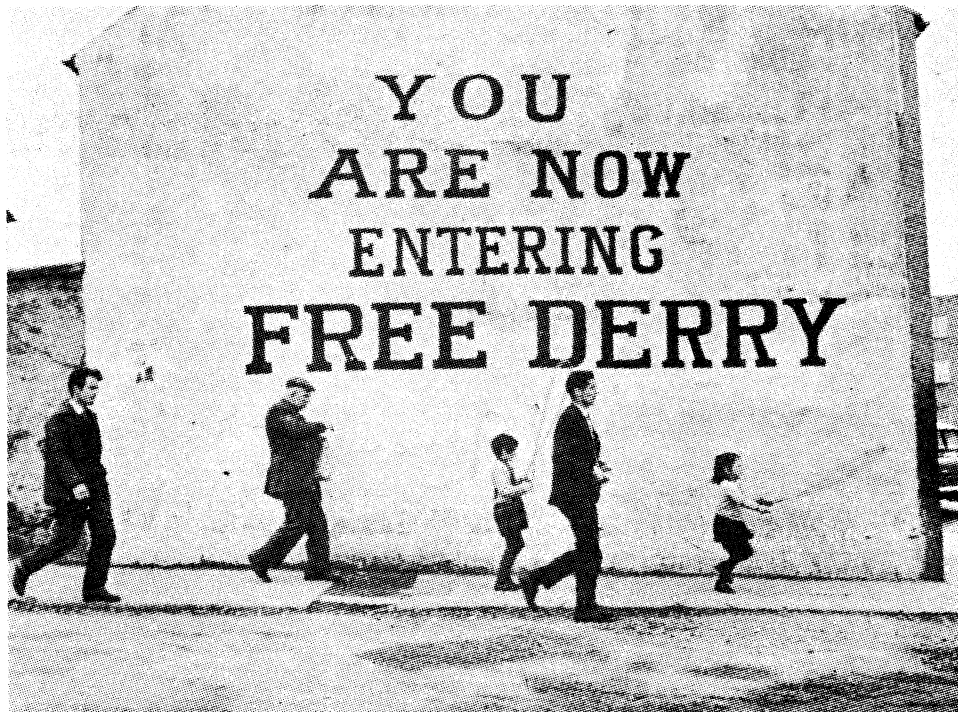
[Excerpts from the statement of purpose of the new publication, printed in its first issue, dated February 1978, are given below.]

* * *

The struggle for national liberation in Ireland stands at the crossroads. Almost ten years after the first civil rights marchers swarmed onto the streets of the 6 Counties to sound the death knell of the corrupt, sectarian Northern statelet, the whole 32 counties of Ireland remain dominated and controlled by British Imperialism.

In the North, British Imperialism blatantly increases the repression of the anti-Unionist minority with the aim of destroying every remaining remnant of resistance. In the South, the bourgeois nationalists of Fianna Fail (who represent the interests of the Irish capitalist class) fill the prisons with republican and socialist militants while cynically pleading that Britain should go.

Clearly, the Irish capitalist class



Catholic community in Derry, Northern Ireland, has been important source of resistance to British occupation.

have not got any interest in helping finish the national revolution. Indeed, the whole history of the 26 Counties shows that a capitalist Ireland cannot exist independent of imperialism. In reality this means that a capitalist Ireland cannot be independent of Britain, as Britain is the major imperialist power here. National independence, then, will only be achieved through a struggle which will challenge the existing class and economic relationships here, in other words—through the struggle for socialism.

Such a struggle should champion the cause of all oppressed sections of society, but it must be based on and led by the working class. But for historical reasons the Irish working class lacks a revolutionary leadership, which is vital if a socialist revolution is to succeed. It is as part of the process of creating that revolutionary leadership that the present fusion between P.D. and the M.S.R. is taking place.

Both P.D. and the M.S.R. represent a layer of those who became involved in radical politics during the worldwide upsurge of the 1960s, and who have become Marxists. There is not at this point final agreement between the two groups on all areas but there is a principled agreement on fundamental matters of central importance. Over the next few months we will be spelling out in detail the specifics of our agreement. Here we give a brief outline of the points on which we believe agreement exists.

We are agreed in our acceptance of the central role of British imperialism in the oppression of the Irish people. We are agreed in our acceptance of the centrality of the need for resolving the national question through the achievement of reunification, national and economic and political independence.

We are united in our rejection of the "2 Nations" theory [that is, that the Protestants are a nation with the right of self-determination], in our rejection of the claim that any lasting solution to the problems of the Irish working class can be found within a 6 County framework, and in our rejection of the right of the Loyalist minority to continue partition.

We believe that a crucial area of capitalist oppression is the oppression of women, and that this is especially so in Ireland given the history of clerical power here. While we believe that an end to this exploitation will only come through socialist revolution, we don't believe that women should wait for this or see the question as a side issue. Thus we support the right of women to organize independently to oppose their exploitation.

Socialist Republic aims to become a weapon for militants in the anti-imperialist ghettos, in the trade unions, in the student and women's movements. Not only will it report their struggles but it will draw out the lessons of these experiences for the benefit of those militants now fighting on the streets, who are the nucleus of

the broad mass movement which will have to be built for further success in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Socialist Republic is an internationalist paper that will fight to build solidarity with the struggles of workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world.

We are Marxists and we believe that a social revolution is necessary to overthrow capitalism and imperialism, that the capitalist state must be smashed and replaced by a workers state, and that only the organized working class can provide the motive force for doing this.

We believe that it is necessary to be involved in both the political and the economic struggle.

We believe that the mobilisation of the power of the organized working class is superior to all other methods of struggle—including armed struggle.

We believe in the building of an organized and experienced leadership in a Marxist party based on the Leninist theory of party organisation.

We are internationalists and believe that Irish workers should actively support struggles throughout the world and learn from them. The M.S.R. are members of the 4th International, an international Trotskyist organisation. P.D. has not such a clearly defined position, although we informally agree on the theory of permanent revolution, and on the fact that the Russian Revolution has degenerated.

This is one of the major issues around which discussion will take place during the fusion process and within the fused organisation.

The *Socialist Republic* stands unequivocally for an end to British interference and control in Ireland. It asserts the leading role of the working class in the anti-imperialist struggle. It proclaims the primacy of mass action over all forms of struggle including the armed struggle.

Socialist Republic aims to be all this but something more. The forces of revolutionary socialism in Ireland are weak and divided. In many cases, differences of tactics make them hostile to each other. The proposed fusion of People's Democracy and the Movement for a Socialist Republic shows that tactical disagreement is no obstacle to principled unity. *Socialist Republic* will report on the development of our fusion, on the setbacks as well as the advances. In this way, we hope to promote the regroupment of revolutionary socialism that is so required by the big responsibilities that face us in the present phase of the struggle for a United Socialist Ireland.

Puerto Rican govt. stages union-busting lockout

By José G. Pérez

Puerto Rico's government is out to destroy two key unions in that island colony of the United States. That is the only conclusion that can be drawn from recent developments in two strikes by government employees.

On March 19 some 5,500 of the 6,200 members of the UTIER, the union of electric company workers, voted unanimously to reject the government's latest offer—averaging a miserable \$.27-an-hour raise per year for three years. This represents virtually no improvement over the \$.18 offered by management when the strike started. It is a long way from the \$1.41 originally demanded by UTIER or the \$.69 an hour the union had more recently proposed.

At the same time that the workers voted to reject the company's offer, they voted to return to work without a settlement of the wage issue. All other

issues had been resolved before the strike started.

Although the UTIER membership has been solidly on strike since December 27, the company has been able to continue functioning without major power interruptions, thanks to 2,000 supervisory employees.

However, when the UTIER members tried to return to work, the company locked them out. Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló explained the lockout would continue until the union reduced its demand to a "reasonable" amount, adding that "what we consider reasonable is the management's offer."

Meanwhile, on March 22 TUAMA, the union of San Juan bus employees, won a union representation election by a better than six-to-one margin. TUAMA outvoted a government-inspired company headed by a grouping that had held the union leadership until a year ago.

The TUAMA strike, which started

January 10, does not revolve mainly around wage issues. The union wants a modest increase of \$1.26 an hour over three years and maintenance of clauses in the old contract. The government originally offered \$.58 an hour and demanded a no-strike clause; a management-rights clause that would abolish the union shop by ending union control of who will be hired; and an absenteeism-control clause.

But as soon as TUAMA won the election, the government withdrew its previous contract offer, telling TUAMA that it was working on a draft of a new contract as the basis for negotiations. This means the government will insist on even more "give-backs."

TUAMA President Jorge Pazol charged that Governor Romero Barceló "does not want to negotiate anything. What he wants is to continue the strike so he can crush the workers."

Both UTIER and TUAMA are par-

ticularly important unions. UTIER is one of the largest and most strategic. TUAMA in the past had won many important concessions.

In addition, both have new, more combative leaderships that reflect the growing militancy of Puerto Rican workers. The head of UTIER is Luis Lausell, a member of the central committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Pazol, head of TUAMA, supported the present governor in the 1976 elections but hasn't balked at denouncing and confronting him during the current struggle.

The government is keenly aware of this and is trying to make an example of UTIER and TUAMA, launching vicious red-baiting campaigns against both Pazol and Lausell.

"We have to defeat labor leaders like Pazol and Lausell once and for all," Governor Romero Barceló reportedly told a group of key aides shortly after the strikes started.

Greed for profit strikes again

World's largest oil spill

During the night of March 16-17, the 233,000-ton supertanker *Amoco Cadiz* went aground on rocks three miles off the Brittany coast, near the fishing village of Portsall, France. The ship broke in half, several of its tanks burst open, and the 68-million-gallon cargo of light Arabian crude oil began pouring into the sea.

Efforts during the next week to bring smaller tankers alongside the wreck and pump out the remaining oil proved futile in face of thirty-foot waves and fifty-mile-an-hour winds. The *Amoco Cadiz* broke completely apart March 24, the last intact tanks ruptured, and all hope was lost of limiting what had already become the worst oil-spill disaster on record.

By March 25 the "marée noire"—black tide—covered beaches, harbors, and river estuaries along the northern coast of Brittany for more than 125 miles. A huge oil slick was heading toward the Normandy peninsula, and another smaller one threatened the British Channel Islands of Jersey and Guernsey.

The spill has brought economic catastrophe to Brittany. The region's main sources of income are fishing, seaweed harvesting, and tourism; all these industries have been wiped out for the immediate future and could be depressed for years to come by the fouling of the coast.

The French government moved quickly to find scapegoats for the disaster, arresting Pasquale Bardari, master of the *Amoco Cadiz*, on March 18, along with the captain of the West German tugboat that had attempted to rescue the ship.

The French authorities allege that Bardari and the tug captain wasted precious hours arguing over a salvage contract, and that the delay led to the shipwreck. Conveniently overlooked has been the fact that the tug was summoned in the first place because the *Amoco Cadiz* had suffered a power failure and loss of steering.

The real responsibility lies with the profit-hungry owners of the huge multinational oil corporations—in this case, Standard Oil of Indiana, which owned the *Amoco Cadiz* through its subsidiary, Amoco International Oil

Company; and the Royal Dutch/Shell Group, which owned the cargo and had chartered the tanker from Amoco.

Since Israeli bombing closed the Suez Canal in 1967, the big oil companies have turned increasingly to "Very Large Crude Carriers"—tankers with a fully loaded weight of 200,000 tons or more. The highly unsafe nature of these ships was described by John Kifner in the March 23 *New York Times*:

"First, they are not easily maneuverable. Their great size gives them a powerful momentum, making it difficult for them to avoid collisions or obstacles, or even to be handled by tugs. Anchors cannot stop them. . . . it takes at least three miles and 21 to 22 minutes to stop a 250,000-ton tanker doing 16 knots. This situation is aggravated if the ship has lost power or, as in the case of the *Amoco Cadiz*, its steering.

"Further, their enormous length, 1,000 feet or more, means that the metal plates of the hull are under vastly more pressure as the ship flexes under the pounding of high seas. The effect of this pressure is greater if part of the ship is aground, and can easier lead to its breaking up. But even the differences in weight that are encountered between one part of the ship and another during loading and unloading mean twisting that leads to metal fatigue."

After the *Argo Merchant* broke up in the North Atlantic fifteen months ago, spilling 7.6 million gallons of oil and threatening the rich Georges Bank fishing grounds, much was made of the fact that it was an aging, rusting craft with a long history of accidents, murky ownership, and a supposedly incompetent crew. But the *Amoco Cadiz* was only four years old, owned by a big American oil company with no major accident record, and equipped with a compartmentalized hull and double bottom.

The Brittany coast has been hit by tanker accidents and oil pollution four times since 1967. Despite repeated promises, the French government has done little to regulate oil shipping in its territorial waters.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Protests rock Brittany

Twenty thousand people marched through the main streets of Brest March 27 in what the French daily *Le Monde* called the biggest protest in that city since the near-revolution of May 1968.

The demonstration against the ecological and economic disaster that the *Amoco Cadiz* brought to Brittany was called by twelve organizations, including the Communist and Socialist parties, the two largest trade union federations in France, and the Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Communist League.

At the head of the demonstration was the Breton flag—an indication of the growing nationalist sentiment in Brittany. This also reflected the anger at the central government, whose subservience to big business led to the oil spill.

Although the March 27 protest was the largest, there have been numerous others. They began March 17, the day after the shipwreck, with a protest in Portsall, the fishing village hit hardest by the spill. The same day, 2,000 fishermen, trade

unionists, and environmentalists marched in Brest.

General assemblies of university and high school students in Brest voted to go on strike March 23. Five thousand students marched through the center of the city and piled sea birds and fish killed by the oil spill at the entrance to the marine prefecture building.



Protesters in Portsall, France Rouge

World news notes

Students protest Carter visits

Jimmy Carter was wined and dined during his recent jaunt to Africa and Latin America. But not everyone in the countries he visited was so hospitable.

In Ibadan, Nigeria, students from the universities of Ibadan and Ife staged a protest against Carter's visit. They carried placards blaming American investments and arms for keeping the racist white-minority regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa in power.

Students at the University of Brazil also demonstrated against Carter's visit to their country. They accused Carter of being a representative of greedy U.S.-owned corporations, while mouthing phrases about human rights. The students also protested Brazil's dictatorial military government.

Italian police detain 100 in crackdown

Using sweeping powers instituted in the wake of the kidnapping of politician Aldo Moro, the Italian government has detained more than 100 young people.

A Reuters dispatch reported, "Thousands of policemen raided city apartments, country houses and deserted buildings and mounted roadblocks in Rome, Genoa and Pescara."

At least thirteen people have been arrested, but so far no information has been released about the charges against them. The others are simply being held without charges.

British panel recommends racist curbs

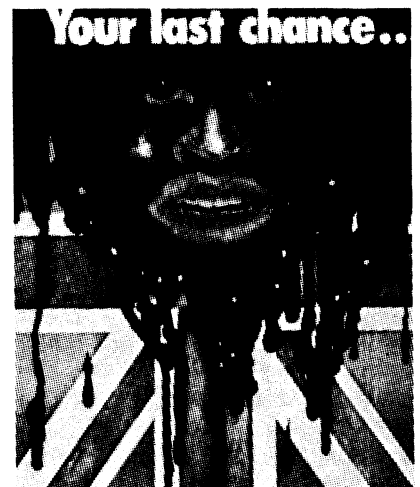
A bipartisan committee of the British House of Commons has called for a virtual ban on immigration of Asians and Africans to Britain. The recommendation came in a report published March 21.

Over the past few years, racist activity against Black and Asian immigrants has been on the rise in Britain. A fascist group, the National Front, has staged demonstrations calling for deportation of immigrants back to their countries of origin.

The report will undoubtedly embolden these racist forces. It attacked "illegal immigration" and called for reducing the number of immigrant children allowed to enter Britain. It also recommended imposing immigration quotas on Indians.

In a display of pious hypocrisy, the authors of the report remarked, "Nothing in this report should give rise to fears in anyone irrespective of race, color or creed, who has lawfully settled in the United Kingdom."

The present Labour Party government, which has done nothing to defend the rights of immigrant workers, was evidently concerned that the report might not be tough enough. Prime Minister James Callaghan said he would study the report and "see whether there are loopholes which can be closed. If there are, they should be."



Racist National Front poster

Bentley urges protest of S. Africa ban

U.S. playwright Eric Bentley is urging people to send protests to South African officials protesting the banning of his play, *Are You Now or Have You Ever Been?* The play, which deals with the McCarthyite witch-hunt in the United States, was banned in South Africa this January by the government-appointed Publications Appeal Board.

Although no official reason for the ban was given, an unnamed official said, "I think their view was that the production might appear pro-Communist rather than anti-Communist."

Among those who have already protested this outrageous act of censorship are Richard Howard, president of the international writers organization PEN, and Dore Ashton, chair of PEN's Freedom to Write Committee.

Protests should be sent to: Mr. Justice J. H. Snyman, chairman, Publications Appeal Board, Department of the Interior, Private Bag X114, Pretoria 0001, Republic of South Africa.

Half-million Basques march for freedom

"BILBAO, Spain, March 26 (Reuters)—A half-million Basques marched through flag-draped streets today in the first legal celebration of their national day since the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39.

"Marches were held simultaneously in Bilbao, San Sebastián, Vitoria and Pamplona. Streets were festooned with the green, red and white Basque flag and marchers chanted such slogans as 'Long live an autonomous Basque country!' and 'Independence and autonomy now!'"

Int'l tribunal opens hearings on repression in West Germany

By Jon Britton

On February 18 a congress of the local Social Democratic Party organization in Aachen, West Germany, endorsed the Third Bertrand Russell International Tribunal on political blacklisting in West Germany. The tribunal opened its hearings March 27.

The decision evoked a good deal of interest and was singled out for attention by the local press. It was, in fact, a significant and even courageous act in light of the campaign initiated by the Social Democratic Party tops to discredit and if possible destroy the tribunal.

These procapitalist misleaders of the workers movement in West Germany, who with the Free Democrats hold national governmental power, have good reason to fear the results of the new inquiry initiated by the Bertrand Russell Foundation. The earlier tribunals investigated and passed judgment on U.S. war crimes in Vietnam and violations of human rights in Latin America, with telling effect.

The Bonn regime, under the pretext of "combating terrorism," has been stepping up its efforts to stifle political dissent and social protest.

McCarthyite decree

On the basis of a joint statement of principles adopted by state-government ministers and federal Chancellor Willy Brandt in 1972, known around the world as *Berfusverbot*, citizens are denied public employment for their political beliefs. More than 500,000 applicants for public jobs have been subjected to federal investigation and supervision on the basis of this McCarthyite decree.

The government and news media have attempted to intimidate dissidents and critics by smearing them as "sympathizers" of terrorists.

Most recently, by a vote of 245 to 244, the West German parliament on February 16 approved a series of "anti-terrorist" measures that further restrict civil liberties. The new law enables police looking for "suspects" to search an entire housing complex with a single search warrant, and to hold citizens for up to twelve hours for "identity checks" during a "terrorist" hunt.

The Third Tribunal was formally launched on October 28, 1977, at news conferences in Bonn, Paris, and London. The twenty-eight members of the tribunal include distinguished American drama critic and playwright Eric Bentley, Italian SP leader Ricardo Lombardi, French theologian Dr. Georges Casalis, historian and Tito biographer Dr. Vladimir Dedijer from Yugoslavia, Labour Party MP Jo Richardson from Britain, and professor of philosophy Lolle Nauta from Holland.

One of the five members of a "German Advisory Council" is Dr. Martin Niemoller, former president of the World Council of Churches.

In addition to political blacklisting, the new tribunal will look into censorship and the denial of rights in criminal court proceedings.

'Revered name' misused?

Even before its formal launching, Chairman Willy Brandt and the Executive Committee of the Social Demo-



Russell tribunal on repression in West Germany opened hearings March 29

cratic Party lashed out at the tribunal as a "publicity stunt that will cause the revered name of Bertrand Russell to be misused to the detriment of the Federal Republic of Germany." According to their October 13, 1977, statement, Brandt also said that he would make sure that the initiators' "transparently propagandist and slanderous motives" were revealed and condemned.

The top leadership body unanimously resolved to demand that no Social Democrats should participate in the tribunal, nor give it any support or signatures, and should withdraw any signatures already given. It also insisted that party members not appear as witnesses before the tribunal.

The Russell Foundation in a press release issued the same day condemned Brandt's use of smear tactics. The foundation said that it regretted his "prejudgement before the Tribunal even exists," and pointed out that the inquiry will be "an entirely rational forum," which "has already attracted widespread support from social democrats in Western Europe."

The following day, Edith Russell answered Brandt's claim that her late husband's name was being misused. She pointed out that Russell's "abhorrence of the influence of the late Senator McCarthy in the USA is a matter of repeated public record. . . . The question of whether modern German practices echo American precedents is a matter for the Tribunal to examine: that Bertrand Russell would have wished for such an examination to be undertaken, as scrupulously and rigorously as possible, will not be doubted by any who knew him."

Nonetheless, the campaign did have some effect. An October 17 dispatch in the Munich daily *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reported that the Young Democrats, youth group of the Free Democratic Party, had withdrawn their signature from the general call for the Third Russell Tribunal. The Social Democratic youth group, the Young Socialists, while not withdrawing their signature, spoke out against the holding of the tribunal for the time being on the grounds that an unprejudiced in-

vestigation did not seem feasible in the atmosphere created by terrorist activities. (The government was conducting a massive witch-hunt at the time in its effort to track down and capture the kidnapers of industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer.)

Prior to Willy Brandt's blast in October, officials of the West German Ministry of the Interior had drawn up a secret report on the Third Russell Tribunal that reads like a Cointelpro (Counterintelligence Program) document of the American FBI. The text was published by the Russell Foundation in January.

Regime fears trouble

This memorandum, dated September 20, 1977, claims that the tribunal is a conspiracy by a number of small "New Left" groups to defame "the civil rights and democratic order of the Federal Republic." Despite the supposed insignificance of its political backing, the authors of the memorandum warn that

the inquiry could cause a lot of trouble for the government:

"One cannot exclude the possibility that many well-known complaints against our civic rights and democratic order . . . [may] acquire a new weight in the eyes of many through a verdict by well-known personalities. One is reminded of the political repercussions inside the USA of the first Russell Tribunal."

Besides raising the specter of the American anti-Vietnam War movement, the document warns that the tribunal could gather together and intensify existing protest in West Germany and strengthen anew "terrorist extremism."

In a section entitled "Possible counter-measures," the authors outline steps that might be taken against the tribunal. The first—infiltration and manipulation of the tribunal "with the aim of achieving the verdict of acquittal"—is dismissed as impractical. Measures that supposedly would be more effective include discouraging participation, barring use of public facilities, prohibiting meetings, and barring entry to participants from other countries.

In a classic example of political-police double-think, the secret document even raised the possibility of getting the Federal Constitution Court to deprive participants of their civil liberties "if it can be established that [such] persons in preparing or conducting the Tribunal, misuse basic rights . . . in the fight against the liberal and democratic basic order. . . ."

Tribunal goes forward

Nevertheless, the Third Russell Tribunal is going forward, with support groups having been established throughout West Europe.

In its March 2 issue, the West German Trotskyist weekly *Was Tun* pointed out that even before the decision of the local congress in February three Social Democratic members of the Aachen city council had come out in support of the Russell Tribunal, and a successful rally had been held.

"This rally showed," the paper said, "more than any before, a widespread feeling of the need for uniting in struggle against the cutbacks in democratic rights. . . ."

"[The resolution] provided an example of effective and broad support work that should be instructive for the entire movement [in behalf of the tribunal] and thus help to overcome the chaos and divisions that exist within it, and to give it genuine breadth and credibility."

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Union sues to stop INS raids

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Setting an example for other unions, the Los Angeles International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has taken court action against illegal victimization of undocumented workers by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Union attorneys filed a federal suit February 25 to enjoin the INS from conducting illegal sweeps of shops.

Immigration agents enter the shops armed with warrants that name no individuals. They then proceed to question and detain anyone who looks like a Latino.

In some cases the raids are a service to employers trying to keep out the union.

In an interview with the *Militant*, an ILGWU official who requested that his name not be used described the problem.

He said the INS sweeps clearly violated the Fourth Amendment bar on illegal searches and seizures.

"At a time when this country is concerned—supposedly—with human rights around the world," he commented, "right here in Los Angeles at least 300 people a day are having their rights violated by the INS."

The court action, he explained, stemmed from the union's effort to organize undocumented workers, who constitute an estimated 80 percent of the city's 78,000 garment workers.

Several decades ago the union had more than 20,000 members in the area. With a massive pattern of runaway shops the number was reduced to about 7,000.

"We want to organize garment workers irrespective of their national origin or status," the ILGWU official said. "When we made it public several years ago that we were organizing workers without regard to papers, there was some surprise expressed. But other union have been following suit."

"This is still our position," he added. "It's not our job to assume the function of the Immigration Service. They're garment workers and they have a right to union representation. I think every union has a legal, as well as a moral, obligation to represent their members without regard to what the legal status of particular workers may be."

And Los Angeles garment workers certainly need union representation. Many of the nonunion shops pay piece-work wages that average as low as \$1.00 and \$1.50 an hour, with workers putting in a ten- or twelve-hour day.

Working conditions are unsanitary and unsafe.

Undocumented workers get the worst of it. Female workers are subjected to sexual abuse. Kickbacks, phoney payroll deductions, and shakedowns are common.

When threatened with unionization, sweatshop operators have not hesi-



Militant/Miguel Pendas

tated to call on *la migra*.

The ILGWU has tried to deal with the problem of one federal agency, the INS, interfering with another, the National Labor Relations Board. Frequently the labor board will arrange a union representation election. Just before the vote *migra* agents will be on hand to haul off or intimidate pro-union workers.

The ILGWU organizer recalled a particular experience. A majority of the workers at a shop signed union representation cards, and the NLRB slated an election.

The union went to the district head of the INS and demanded that his agents not interfere. This was agreed to.

The morning of the election, there was an INS pickup van parked conspicuously in front of the shop.

But the workers didn't bolt. They

stayed inside the shop, and the union organizer demanded the *migra* agents leave, which they finally did.

The union won the election by a big margin. Negotiations were held, and the boss signed a contract. A couple of weeks later, the place was raided.

Most of the workers accepted voluntary deportation to Mexico. Within forty-eight hours, most of them were back. They reported for work, but the company refused to rehire them.

The union took the case to arbitration. The morning of the hearing a couple of the union officials decided to check the arbitrator's office before the workers went in.

Sure enough, there with the employer were a couple of *migra* agents. They hastily tried to conceal a bag with handcuffs and the chains used to link together the people they grab. The workers waiting downstairs were not apprehended.

Clearly, there are difficulties in organizing undocumented workers. But lack of willingness by the workers is not one of them.

"It really takes a lot of guts," the union organizer said, "to sign a card, give a statement to an NLRB agent, knowing he works for the government. Or take the stand at an NLRB hearing, speaking the only language you know, facing the employer and knowing Immigration may be waiting downstairs."

"When these workers arrive here," he continued, "the only question for them is job or no job. But once they get a job, they begin to realize this isn't the land of opportunity they were told it is. Then the question is, are they going to take the abuse? Is it worth it? The answer is that they're better off putting up a fight, even to the point where they might be picked up and sent back."

"We get a better response from them than from other workers," he said. "More enthusiasm, more willingness, more militancy."

...Zola

Continued from page 7

"Women are also hit hard by the 'take away.' The right to abortion—to decide whether they want to bear children—as well as affirmative action and the Equal Rights Amendment have all come under strong attack."

"For the Black and Puerto Rican communities, the *Bakke* challenge to affirmative action threatens even the modest gains made in equal access to employment and educational opportunities."

"This is what we face," Zola said, "take-away contracts, take-away budgets, take-away taxes, take-away utility bills, and take-away challenges to our human and civil rights."

"The only solution is for us to take away the utilities, the steel corporations, the coal companies, and the rest of the giant corporations from the small elite who own them now—and place them under the democratic control of the working class."

"The working class keeps the country running," Zola said, "and the working class should run the country."

Zola proposed, as one immediate step, opening the books of the corporations "so working people can see for ourselves their hidden profits, monopoly price-fixing, tax swindles, political payoffs, and coordinated union-busting plots such as in the coal strike."

Political action by the labor movement—independent from and fighting *against* the Democratic and Republican parties—is crucial today for workers to defend their rights and living standards, Zola said.

"I hope to set an example to all working people that we can put up our own candidates for office—candidates who are not beholden to the steel companies, the coal operators, or the utilities."

"And I hope that in the not too distant future we'll see steelworkers, miners, hospital workers, and secretaries running for office—not in the bosses' parties but as candidates of our own party of labor."

"That is the way forward for the working class of Pennsylvania."

...Blacks

Continued from page 9

children had to do without schools for a long time. According to the white school officials, there weren't enough Black children of the same age to "merit" a school.

When there were, he said, Galloway had a three-track school system. "One for Blacks, one for mulattos, and one for whites."

On the other hand, the housing in the mining camps where the Gholstons lived wasn't segregated. "You could just live where you wanted," Oliver said.

"Other things were segregated by custom," he explained. "Like the dance halls, beer joints, and restaurants."

As for the current miners' strike, which was just ending at the time I interviewed the Gholstons, they were naturally staunch supporters of the union cause.

Oliver felt especially strong about the issues of medical coverage and pension benefits. He receives a pension; black lung benefits, and Social Security.

He was 100 percent in favor of the fully paid medical plan the miners had before the present contract.

"It used to be," he said, "that the company paid all medical expenses. They even paid for transportation to the clinics. Now they want the miners to pay the first \$200 of medical costs."

"Well, \$200 doesn't sound like a lot of money, but the miners shouldn't have to pay at all."

"We're with the miners all the way," the Gholstons concluded. "If it weren't for the young miners out there today, we wouldn't have what we got now."

SPECIAL SALE

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Trotsky's complete testimony before the 1937 Commission of Inquiry chaired by philosopher John Dewey. "...A virtual treasury of information about Trotsky's political and personal life, his ideas, and the critical events in which he participated"—*Choice*, March 1969. 617 pages.

Available from Pathfinder Press
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'Kameradschaft' A film about miners

Kameradschaft (Comradeship). Directed by G.W. Pabst. In French and German with English subtitles. A Janus Films release. For rental information, write: Janus Films, 745 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

Kameradschaft is a 1931 German film about an actual mining disaster that took place in France. It puts to shame the overblown earthquake, fire, and flood "disaster" movies of today. The film's visual imagery is awesome, all the more so because it portrays a lot

Film

more than what lies on the surface.

Director G.W. Pabst tells an inspiring story of international working-class solidarity in which German miners come to the aid of their French comrades trapped underground.

The film's setting is a huge underground mine. Its tunnels run from one side of the French-German border to the other. Separate French and German companies operate the mine on each side of the border, hiring workers only from their own countries.

Pabst highlights his theme by setting the film shortly after the 1919 Versailles conference that readjusted boundaries throughout the world after World War I. (The event actually occurred more than ten years before the war.)

Twice at the beginning of the film German workers are shown crossing the border into France.

The first time, scores of them seeking

jobs are turned away at the entrance to the French side of the mine.

The second time, a trio of friends who work on the German side are coldshouldered by the patrons of a French dance hall. One of the men restrains his hot-headed friends from rising to a Frenchman's provocation. The three leave quickly to avoid a thrashing.

The next day, an ominous explosion thunders in the depths of the mine. A pillar of thick black smoke rises from the main shaft on the French side.

Across the border, some of the German miners propose a rescue mission. For a third time the Germans cross the border, this time without stopping at the checkpoint to show papers. The truckload of German volunteers is welcomed with grim smiles.

Meanwhile, below in the German mine, the three men slighted by the French the night before attack an iron grating that marks the underground border with picks and sledgehammers.

When the bars give way at last, the men enter the French side like prisoners escaping from a cell and rush to help their comrades.

A harrowing, suspenseful sequence of events follows until the survivors are brought to the surface.

Later, a rally is held at the border where representatives of the workers from both sides make speeches in French and German lauding the brotherhood of all workers.

The version of *Kameradschaft* that I saw ended here. This particular print, at least, was missing the crucial final scene.

In this scene, according to film historian Siegfried Kracauer, "One French



'Comradeship': Three German miners about to remove the iron fence set up at the border since the Versailles conference.

and one German official, separated by a new iron fence in the shafts, exchange protocols ratifying the re-establishment of the frontier. Versailles wins out. The strictly symmetrical gestures of both officials satirize this victory of bureaucratic wisdom."

In less subtle hands, this plot might have been about as inspiring as TV's "Moments of Meditation." Although he does not always avoid lapsing into political melodrama, Pabst usually has enough faith in the power of his camera to let it speak for itself.

And powerful it is. With an ingenious studio set and imaginative camera movement and lighting, Pabst sets a standard of realism that any filmmaker today would be proud to attain.

There is a lot on the political side that Pabst leaves unsaid.

He barely suggests that the disaster

itself was anything but an unavoidable accident.

The idea that the workers may be severely exploited by the mineowners is only hinted at.

It is certainly not necessary to undertake an elaborate critique of class relations in a film of this sort, but Pabst weakens his own statement by almost completely ignoring them.

Pabst was one of the first directors to use sound successfully in his films. This may be hard for you to appreciate, if—like myself—you don't understand the French and German spoken in *Kameradschaft*.

To make matters worse, the subtitles are atrocious.

I'm not ashamed to say that I liked Airport as much as anyone. But films can enlighten as well as entertain. *Kameradschaft* does both.

—Rich Robohm

A Reader's Notes

Jim O'Brien had a good idea when he thought of making a study of major radical groups in this country and how they have been faring in the present decade. But he went astray when he wrote "American Leninism in the 1970s" (*Radical America*, Winter 1977-78). He reduced the usefulness of the factual information he collected by adding wrong and irresponsible statements and conclusions.

Radical America, of which O'Brien is an editor, is a bimonthly magazine generally supporting a melange of late New Left and spontaneist concepts and prejudices and therefore an opponent of Leninism. So it is not surprising to hear that he does not think the groups he discusses are doing well, despite modest achievements here or there, and that he concludes that the goal of building a large revolutionary vanguard party of the American working class is only "a will-o'-the-wisp."

But I really expected something better of the conceptual framework that is supposed to hold together the disparate groups O'Brien lumps under the rubric of "American Leninism": Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, International Socialists, Workers World Party, Progressive Labor Party, Revolutionary Communist Party, Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), Communist Labor Party.

Why does O'Brien call all of them Leninists? Because, he says, "The central core of Leninism is the disciplined political party," and, despite differences, they all share the "basic perspective for a socialist revolution in the U.S.: that it can, and in fact must, be carried out under the leadership of a Leninist party."

But O'Brien is dead wrong about the central core of Leninism, which is first of all a revolutionary

program for the working-class abolition of capitalism; without this, Leninism is nothing but a caricature. The disciplined political party is only a corollary of the revolutionary program—indispensable, but not the central core. If O'Brien understood this, he would have to examine and compare the programs of the various groups, which he evades with a quip that it is "potentially a subject for endless discussion, but not by me." His refusal to confront what Leninism really is, and how the different groups relate to the real McCoy rather than his unpolitical simplification, flaws his article fatally.

Space limitations prevent discussion of all of O'Brien's major errors, but I want to touch on a few.

After the 1972 presidential election, he reports, "CP leader (and candidate) Gus Hall charged angrily that not all the members of the party's central committee had voted for him." Nor had many of the CP members. And the reason, which O'Brien ignores, was that they supported McGovern in that election. Can a party whose leaders support capitalist candidates be called Leninist merely because they advocate a disciplined party? O'Brien may think so, but in 1920 the real Leninists, including Lenin, adopted twenty-one conditions that barred precisely such parties, whatever Communist phraseology they mouthed, from joining the then-revolutionary Communist International.

Instead of learning something about Leninism from the 1972 election scandal, O'Brien calls it "the classic instance of the party's *de facto* decentralization." He is so dazzled by this notion that he reaches a truly astonishing conclusion: "Within the CP there is room for a far greater variety of viewpoints and activities than in the smaller groups"! (This is the closest he gets to discussing

the questions of internal democracy versus bureaucracy inside the groups he examines.)

O'Brien's own reflections on the Socialist Workers Party are not worth much comment. For example, what does he mean when he says its 1976 presidential campaign "had an overall tone of much greater moderation"? Greater moderation than its 1972 campaign? Or greater moderation than other 1976 campaigns, including the CP's? He doesn't say, and he offers no evidence, so how can he be answered?

But he really should be called to order when he repeats anti-SWP slanders peddled by Stalinists, Maoists, centrists, and ultraleftists. He says the SWP "attacked the Portuguese CP and far-left groupings for failing to respect parliamentary forms." This is a lie. The SWP attacked them for violating, and supporting the violation of, democratic rights, a crucial issue in Portugal after almost forty years of dictatorship. Violation of these rights by the Stalinists and ultralefts played into the hands of the Portuguese right wing. Doesn't O'Brien think there is any distinction between democratic rights and parliamentary forms?

Following this up, O'Brien says the SWP "has seemed to deepen its commitment to parliamentary forms in the '70s, taking on some of the aspects of a social democratic party despite its Leninist forms of internal organization." *Has seemed to* is pretty slippery stuff but doesn't change the fact that this is a slander too, made all the more vile by the difficulty of refuting accusations so vague and unspecific.

If O'Brien wants to retain any credibility, he ought to try to defend it with some facts, or he ought to withdraw it and apologize.

—George Breitman

Diane Wang



Petty, patriarchal gods

"Accept it, girl. As far as your life goes, that man in black robes is God."

The Supreme Court did not say it quite that crudely. But almost.

The high court ruled that a judge cannot be sued even if "the action he took was in error, was done maliciously, or was in excess of his authority."

In the case decided by the Supreme Court on March 28, the judge had done all three. Judge Harold Stump of Dekalb, Indiana, had been wrong, malicious, and excessive.

In 1971 Judge Stump signed an order to have fifteen-year-old Linda Kay Spitler sterilized. Her mother complained that Spitler was "leaving the home on several occasions to associate with older youths or young men." She wanted her daughter sterilized "to prevent unfortunate circumstances to occur."

Linda Spitler was told she was having her appendix removed. It was four years later, when she was married and having trouble with her husband because they couldn't have children, that she found out what had been done to her.

Linda Kay Sparkman (her married name) sued

her mother, the doctors, and the judge. Her case went all the way to the Supreme Court. But it ruled, with a five-to-three vote, that Stump could not be held accountable.

Sparkman's experience shows one way young women are denied the right to decide what to do with their lives and bodies. Young women are denied that right on all sides. At the same time some are made victims of forced sterilization, others are made victims of forced motherhood. They're denied birth control and abortion.

A government task force estimated that 4 million women between the ages of fifteen and nineteen are sexually active.

(I've heard anti-abortionists complain that it is the result of sex education. Actually, it has more to do with biology. A century ago the average young woman in this country didn't begin menstruating until she was seventeen. That average age has dropped to twelve.)

About 2 million of the sexually active young women have no birth control. And 1 million get pregnant, two-thirds of them without planning it. About 600,000 give birth.

Some 300,000 teen-age women used to get abortions each year. That number will be smaller now. The government was paying costs for as many as one-third of those abortions. But the Hyde amendment cut off those funds.

And while taking away abortion funds, what did the Carter administration propose as alternatives for young women?

A Health, Education and Welfare Department task force recommended that the government spend \$147 million on teen-age pregnancy this year.

Only \$62 million of that would go for "family services" and birth control. Divide that sum by the 4 million teen-age women and 7 million teen-age men who are sexually active, and it comes out to little more than \$5 per person.

The rest of the money would supposedly help young women who are pregnant. But that comes out to only eighty-five dollars per woman. How much prenatal care, schooling, counseling, or other necessities will that pay for?

Far too many people are playing God with young women's lives. And vindictive, petty, and stingy gods, at that.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



Nukes: full steam ahead

The cat's out of the bag. Jimmy Carter has finally unveiled his long-awaited nuclear power program. His *real* program, I might add, not a series of tantalizing promises he's laid on us since the beginning of his campaign for president.

And what a program it is. Full steam ahead on nukes, you might say (since the president is a former navy man).

Carter aims to cut about two years off the construction time for a nuclear plant. Right now it takes about ten years from initial drawings to start-up. Nuclear power advocates claim the long lead time is the result of bureaucratic red tape and delay.

When it gets down to it, though, what really bugs them is all those protesters. Carter apparently agrees, and his plan will make it much more difficult to raise safety objections to nuclear plants during the licensing process.

The president also set up a task force to study the problem of radioactive wastes.

This is a serious problem. A typical nuclear plant

produces about two tons of radioactive waste every year. Some of the waste remains radioactive for 500,000 years. All of it is dangerous to human life. And no one knows what to do with it.

The Department of Energy admitted in March that there was no possibility of a solution before 1988—and maybe not even then. Six months ago they said they couldn't have it solved before 1985. At this rate, it will never be solved.

Carter, of course, simply wants us all to trust him to come up with an answer. But cynical me, I'm suspicious of the man who said in August 1976 that nuclear power should be used only as a "last resort," but eight months later called for building 200 more nuclear plants.

And finally, the fast breeder. Pronuclear people love the fast breeder, because it produces more nuclear fuel than it consumes. And since there's only a thirty-year supply of uranium on earth, the fast breeder is absolutely necessary for any country that's committed to nuclear power.

But the fast breeder is the most dangerous kind of reactor. Under certain conditions it can explode like an atomic bomb. More dangerous, perhaps, is the huge amount of plutonium a fast breeder contains. One-millionth of a gram of plutonium, inhaled, will produce lung cancer.

Carter has managed to score a few points with some antinuclear people by posturing against the proposed Clinch River, Tennessee, fast breeder reactor.

Now it turns out that what Carter wants instead of Clinch River is a really *big* breeder—two or three times Clinch River's size. But he wants one that won't produce weapons-grade plutonium, as Clinch River would. He's afraid that some country not under Washington's thumb might get its hands on enough plutonium to make an atomic bomb.

So Jimmy Carter has now answered the question asked by *Fortune* magazine in its March 28 issue: "Where *Does* the President Stand on Nuclear Energy?"

By Any Means Necessary

State of Black politics '78

1978, it seems, is destined to be a year of reports and stories on the condition of Blacks in America.

Pegged on the tenth anniversary of the Kerner Commission report on the ghetto rebellions of the mid and late 1960s, these analyses purport to offer a detailed overview of the state of "race relations" a decade later.

For all the polls and mock scholarship, however, we learn little that anyone the least bit observant doesn't know already—that the condition of Blacks in 1978 is worse than it was in 1968 and not likely to get any better without a struggle.

One of these reports is of special interest in 1978, an election year, because it attempts to draw a balance sheet on the past decade of Black electoral activity.

"The State of Black Politics" appeared in the March issue of *Focus*, publication of the Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS). The JCPS described itself as a think tank for Black elected officials.

This explains why they view politics simply as

electoral activity. It also explains why they conclude that "the available evidence leads us to believe that the state of black politics in 1978 has improved dramatically over the last ten years."

To back up this happy prognosis, the JCPS cites a marked increase in the number of Black elected officials.

In 1967, for example, there were fewer than 500 Black elected officials. In 1968 the figure stood at 1,219. This reflected the initial effect of the Democratic Party's decision to field more Black candidates. The Democrats made this shift to contain the motion toward independent Black political action.

The figures today, according to *Focus*, show continued progress—4,311 Black elected officials.

Yet despite these increases, Blacks still constitute less than 1 percent of all elected officials.

The report also cites the potential power of the Black vote. It notes that in 1976 Black voters decided the outcome of several close races.

However, the report points out, "although the Black vote often provides the margin of victory for

candidates at all levels, overall Black voter turnout has not been impressive."

In fact, Black voter participation in elections *has gone down* over the past ten years.

In 1968, 52.6 percent of 11 million eligible Black voters were registered. In 1976 only 38 percent of 15 million eligible were registered.

Black voter turnout for the past three presidential elections indicates the same trend. According to Census Bureau figures, 57.6 percent of eligible Black voters voted in 1968; 52.1 percent in 1972; and 48.7 percent in 1976.

From the point of view of the JCPS, such a trend should be cause for alarm. Because if it continues, the jobs of the Black Democratic and Republican party officeholders will be up for grabs.

But unable or unwilling to make head or tail of this phenomenon, the JCPS simply ignores its implications.

Just what these figures really say about the state of Black politics in 1978 will be the subject of a future column.

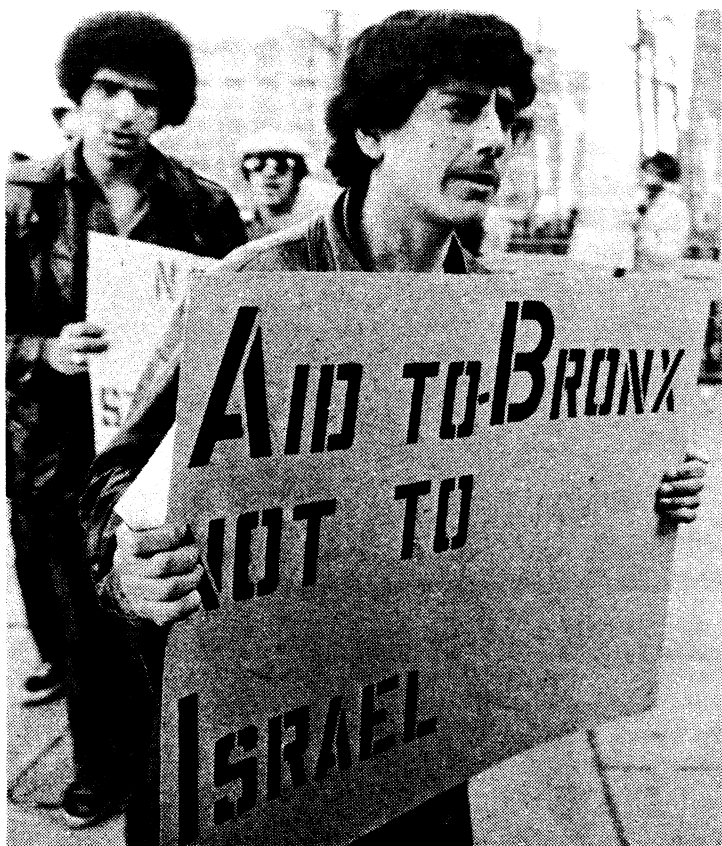
John Hawkins



'Israel out of Lebanon!'

A hundred people picketed a speech by former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City April 3. Demonstrators, including Arab and Iranian students and members of the Young Socialist Alliance, demanded Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. Chants included "Stop U.S. arms to Israel," "Palestinians have human rights too," and "Free all political prisoners in Israeli jails."

Fifty Penn State students protested the Israeli invasion of Lebanon March 20, reports *Militant* correspondent Eric Hamell. "U.S. arms slaughter Arab civilians," was a popular chant.



March 28 protest at United Nations in New York City
Militant/Lou Howort

FLORIDA BUSING BLOCKED

Although the Marion County, Florida, school system is segregated, a law sponsored by U.S. Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.) and U.S. Rep. Joe Biden (D-Del.) bans the Department of Health, Education and Welfare from ordering a busing plan there.

The law also prevents HEW from cutting off federal aid to

segregated schools. HEW says it will ask the Justice Department to seek a court order for busing.

BWARE: POLICE

The entire fifteen-member police force of Robbins, Illinois, has been suspended. Among other things, the cops were charged with brutality, using abusive language, armed rob-

Korean rice and influence peddler Tongsun Park began public testimony before the House ethics committee April 3. The committee is looking into charges that the South Korean dictatorship funneled money through Park to members of Congress in order to win their support for continued U.S. military aid.

Park admitted he had given some \$850,000 in political gifts to about thirty present and past members of Congress as well as to former President Nixon's reelection campaign and two unsuccessful campaigns for House seats. Not included in the dollar total was \$2,500 in bills that Park covered for Democratic Speaker of the House Thomas "Tip" O'Neill.

Some of Park's lucky recipients included Democratic Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, who got \$300 in

Park starts naming names



1970; Democrat Edward Roybal of California, who got \$1,000 in 1974; and former representative, now senator, Spark Matsunaga, Democrat of Hawaii, who collected \$500 in 1970 and \$1,000 in 1972.

But the big winners were Rep. Cornelius Gallagher of New Jersey, who got \$91,000 in donations—and Park "forgave" \$130,000 of a

\$250,000 loan; former Rep. Otto Passman, who got about \$250,000; and former Rep. Richard Hanna, who got more than \$260,000 in "business payments."

Passman was charged with bribery and conspiracy by a federal grand jury March 31. Hanna pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy in March, in return for which the government dropped thirty-nine other charges.

Park denied any connection to the South Korean government. But ethics committee member Millicent Fenwick commented that she thought Park had a "warm and close relationship" with the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency.

"I want to tell you: what I have done in Washington constitutes an American success story on a small scale," Park told the ethics committee.

beries, extortion, car thefts, and burglaries. Sergeant Lawrence Moore, for example, refused a direct order to turn in \$500 confiscated from an arrested man.

The jails were closed weeks ago because of poor plumbing, no hot water after 5 p.m., and no light in juvenile detention cells.

Similar charges in 1969 also led to widespread suspensions. City attorney Douglas Polsky said the problems were the result of a "lack of a chain of custody."

Indians more than 100 years ago.

The decision came three months after a jury ruled that the Wampanoag were sometimes not a tribe and therefore had no legal claim to the land. According to the verdict, the Wampanoag were not a tribe in 1790, were a tribe in 1834 and 1842, and again were not a tribe in 1869, 1870, and 1976.

Judge Walter Skinner called the jury's decision "perfectly rational."

S.F. GAY RIGHTS BILL

A gay rights bill passed the San Francisco Board of Supervisors March 20. Mayor George Moscone says he will sign the bill, which would bar all discrimination against gays in employment, housing, and public accommodations. The law

covers private businesses as well as public employment.

Anyone discriminated against may file a complaint with the city Human Rights Commission, sue, or ask the district attorney to act.

P.R. INDEPENDENCE

At its January meeting, the national board of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) passed a resolution "supporting political and economic independence" for Puerto Rico, according to the March issue of DSOC's *Newsletter of the Democratic Left*.

Meanwhile, the *Wall Street Journal* reported March 22 that unemployment on the island colony "may exceed" 50 percent.

What's Going On

ARIZONA

PHOENIX

FEMINISM & SOCIALISM. A discussion group. Wed., April 12, 7:30 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Ausp: Phoenix Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES

WE'VE GOT THE POWER TO WIN: A DISCUSSION ON STRATEGY FOR WINNING THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party; Shelly Mandell, state action coordinator for California National Organization for Women; others. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. Great Western Savings Building, 3660 Wilshire Blvd., Mezzanine (between Western & Vermont). Ausp: Pathfinder Books & Viewpoint Speakers Bureau. For more information call (213) 482-1341.

S.E. LOS ANGELES

STALINISM AND THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET UNION. A class series. Sunday, April 16, 1 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park. Donation: \$.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE THE COAL MINERS' STRIKE: THE MEANING FOR LABOR. A panel discus-

sion with steelworkers and railroad workers. Fri., April 14, 7:30 p.m. 2251 E. 71st St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520.

KENTUCKY

LOUISVILLE

SEXISM & SCIENCE. Speaker: Debby Tarnopol, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 15, 4 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA

NEW ORLEANS

JOIN THE FIGHT TO OVERTURN 'BAKKE.' Teach-in. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. Loyola Law School. Ausp: New Orleans Student Coalition Against Racism, Loyola Student Government. Sat., April 15, picket line at federal building, 12 noon. Ausp: New Orleans SCAR.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON

POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR HECTOR MARROQUIN. Why is the U.S. government trying to deport this trade unionist and socialist to Mexico... to almost certain torture and death? A panel of speakers. Fri., April 14, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Fl. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT

ALL UNION LABOR RALLY TO SUPPORT UNITED MINE WORKERS AND 'OAKLAND PRESS' STRIKE. Featured speaker: Charles G. Younglove, director, District 29, United Steelworkers of America; guest speakers: Larry Hartman, assistant director, Region IB, United Auto Workers; Tom Turner, president, Metro AFL-CIO; Willard Hatch, adm. officer, Newspaper Guild; Mike Rinaldi, president, Local 600 UAW. Film, music, and entertainment. Sun., April 9, 2 p.m. Kennedy Hall, United Steelworkers of America Local 2659, 14024 Fort St., Southgate. Ausp: USWA Local 2659. For more information call (313) 284-8613.

MINNESOTA

MINNEAPOLIS

A SOCIALIST ANALYSIS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: A STRATEGY TO WIN. Speaker: Jim Carson, member of Minnesota Federation of Teachers, 1977 Socialist Workers candidate for mayor. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. 23 E. Lake St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663.

NEW JERSEY

NEWARK

SCHOOLS IN NEWARK: THE FAILURE OF AMERICAN EDUCATION. Speakers: Leon Grauer, student at Arts High School, Young Socialist Alliance; Tony

Austin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; others. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO

ALBUQUERQUE

REPRESSION IN MEXICO & THE CASE OF HECTOR MARROQUIN. Speaker: Rosario Ibarra de Pierdra, leader of fight to defend Mexican political prisoners. Tues., April 11, 7:30 p.m. Room 335 Ortega Hall, Univ. of New Mexico. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Hector Marroquin Defense Committee, Univ. of New Mexico Speakers Bureau. For more information call (505) 255-7696.

BOYCOTT COORS BEER! Speaker: Matt Taylor, Albuquerque Coors Boycott Committee. Fri., April 14, 7:30 p.m. 108 Morningside, NE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK

ALBANY

THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. A panel discussion. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

NEW YORK CITY

IN NEW YORK STATE, ABORTION IS LEGAL. FOR HOW LONG? Speakers:

Ronnie Eldridge; Mark Alan Siegal, state rep. Thurs., April 13, 7 p.m. 84 5th Ave. Ausp: New York National Organization for Women. For more information call (212) 674-8950.

FIFTY YEARS OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM

Socialist educational conference. Fri., April 28 and Sat., April 29. Registration: 6:30 p.m. Fri. Sessions: 7:30 p.m. Fri., 11:00 a.m. and 2:30 p.m. Sat. Donation: \$1 per session, \$3 for entire conference. Loeb Student Center, New York University. Ausp: New York Local, Socialist Workers Party, and New York University Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 982-5963.

RALLY TO CELEBRATE THE COMPLETION OF THE TROTSKY WRITINGS SERIES

Speakers: Doug Jenness and Susan Lamont, SWP Political Committee; George Breitman, coeditor of the *Writings* series; Osborne Hart, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Reception after the rally. Sun., April 30. Ukrainian National Home, 140 Second Avenue (at E. 9th St.), 3 p.m. Donation: \$.30. Ausp: New York Local, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 982-5963.

NYC: LOWER EAST SIDE FIGHT AGAINST GAY OPPRESSION IN THE LATINO COMMUNITY

Speakers to be announced. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. 7 Clinton St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Libreria Militante. For more information call (212) 260-6400.



SUPPORT FOR GAY RIGHTS

A *New York Daily News* opinion survey published April 3 reported that 46 percent of those polled supported Mayor Edward Koch's recent order barring discrimination against hiring gays for city jobs. Only 38 percent opposed the order. Fifty-three percent thought there should be no bar on gays being cops, with 36 percent opposed.

However, 47 percent opposed allowing gays to teach school, with 44 percent in favor.

Quote unquote

"Where would Christianity be if Jesus got eight to fifteen years with time off for good behavior?"

—*New York State Senator James Donovan, a leader of the 'right to life' anti-abortion movement, arguing for capital punishment.*

HOSPITAL CUTBACKS

More than 100 people rallied against proposed cutbacks at Cook County Hospital in Chicago March 20. The Cook County Board has announced it plans to cut \$18 million from the hospital budget. Cook County Hospital is the only public hospital in the Chicago area.

The cuts would close a 230-bed wing, shut a jail hospital, end the kidney dialysis pro-

gram, close the outpatient pharmacy, end in-patient mental health services, and eliminate the home transportation service.

After the rally, protesters—including doctors and patients—marched to the Civic Center and heard speakers representing the Black Physicians Association, Chicago Women's Health Task Force, Tranquility Welfare Rights Organization, the Committee to Save Cook County Hospital, and Jorge Prieto, a hospital staff member.

Zionists vs. Redgrave

Vanessa Redgrave won an Academy Award as best supporting actress for her part in *Julia* despite pressure from right-wing Zionists on the film industry because of her role in producing a pro-Palestinian documentary film. Several hundred members of the right-wing Jewish Defense League picketed the award ceremony.

Redgrave told the crowd, "You should be very proud that . . . you refused to be intimidated by the threats of a small bunch of Zionist hoodlums whose behavior is an insult to the stature of the Jews all over the world and to their great and heroic record of struggle against fascism and oppression."

Although there was some booing during Redgrave's remarks, she "ended her speech to thundering applause," as correspondent Aljean Harmetz put it in the *New York Times* coverage of the awards.

Playwright Paddy Chayefsky, presenting a later award, attacked Redgrave, saying, "I'm sick and tired of people exploiting the occasion of the Academy Awards for the propagation of their own political propaganda."

Political propaganda that he disagrees with, Chayefsky evidently means.

Perish the thought—"The American Water Works Association says it opposes federal plans to purify the nation's drinking water by reducing the amount of cancer-causing chemicals found in many metropolitan drinking water supplies. Association President Robert Peters said the plan would require cities to install costly charcoal filters."—the *Los Angeles Times*

Sounds logical—The Environmental Protection Agency has approved use of a new pesticide, ferriamicide, as a substitute for a substance called mirex, which is to be banned because it causes cancer. A major ingredient in ferriamicide? Mirex.

Health business—A Los Angeles health food wholesaler was caught soaking the labels off jars of mayonnaise and substituting "Lecinaise" labels. The new labels listed ingredients not in the mayo and omitted such items of wide

dietary concern as sugar, salt, and eggs. A quart jar went for \$3.70, netting \$100,000 in a year. The man was fined \$18,500 and given thirty days—postponed to give him time to close down the company. And, we presume, to sell the rest of the "Lecinaise."

Shifty gear—"Georgia Overdrive," trucker lingo for neutral gear, is being replaced. . . . The new term is 'Jimmy Carter gear.' Various explanations for the shift heard over CB radios are: 'You slow down and do nothing'; 'It's the gear you just coast in'; and, 'It's kind of out of gear.'—item in the *Detroit Free Press*

The American Way of Death—There are now more than 1,500 pet cemeteries in the United States, and casket burials are on the rise. Plastic caskets are available for as little as \$49 for a bird-sized job and up to \$145 for one that will take a medium-sized pooch.

Union Talk

Building-trades strategy

This week's column is by Stephen Bloom, a member of Local 51, International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades.

NEW YORK—The power of the building-trades unions has declined for several years, the result of a depressed economy and the antiunion policy of major contractors.

The relative growth of nonunion construction is no news to workers in the trades. Now even the union bureaucrats are becoming aware of the problem. Until recently they were content with dues from union members. But as union jobs disappear, union treasuries dry up.

An article in the December 3, 1977, *AFL-CIO NEWS* reports a speech by Robert Georgine, president of the federation's Building and Construction Trades Department. He has a twofold strategy. First, the BCTD will establish a new organizing division. The second part is "stepped up political action."

Georgine says, "We have to show [non-union workers] that their own long-term interest lies with organized labor." So far so good. But how?

Building-trades officials have been schooled for years in a policy of business unionism. They have depended on the character of the industry as requiring a pool of highly skilled labor, over which the unions had a monopoly, enabling them to maintain their job trusts.

Although both the nature of the industry and the economic picture have changed, the outlook of the bureaucrats has remained the same.

The officials see the union in an alliance with "good" employers, who hire union workers, against nonunion contractors.

They advocate making union shops "competitive" with nonunion shops. In practice this means reducing union wages and fringe benefits and the elimination of union work rules. Hardly a convincing way to show workers (union or nonunion) that "their long-term interest lies with organized labor."

Last year in New York most of the crafts signed an agreement for the reduction of wages and the elimination of all work rules on special "rehabilitation projects" funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The International sponsored this, and the practice has spread to other cities.

Each year since 1972, except 1974, the

rate of wage increase in construction has been lower than in manufacturing. In some cases unions have accepted overall decreases. New York bricklayers agreed to a 14.5 percent cut under their new contract.

According to an article in *Business Week* magazine last December, five craft unions agreed to a contract with the National Constructors Association, covering sixteen southern states, which "contains a no-strike clause, eliminates restrictive work rules, and allows the introduction of labor-saving equipment."

Construction workers must recognize political and social realities. The use of new materials and techniques has transformed the industry and eliminated many of the old craft skills. An effective drive to organize the unorganized construction workers must be on an industrial basis, uniting all workers in a fight against all contractors under the banner of one union.

As to the second part of Georgine's strategy—political action—it is safe to say that this is more of the same old chasing after favors from "friendly" politicians.

He has learned nothing from experience. This is shown when he attributes the failure of the "situated picketing" bill, and other union legislative defeats, to some mysterious persuasive power of business interests upon Congress.

Business interests control Congress, the courts, and the president.

State and local governments are also on the side of the employers against unions—all unions, including city workers, coal miners, truck drivers, and construction workers.

The government will pass and enforce laws for working people only when we organize to fight for our rights against the employing class. The class collaboration of union misleaders, both on the trade-union level and on the political front, makes it impossible for building-trades workers to organize.

We need a united organizing effort and a revitalization of a fighting spirit—the kind that built the unions in the first place—to inspire both union members and workers in nonunion shops.

We also need—along with other workers—a labor party, which will fight against antiunion political and legal barriers to our organizing efforts and for national health insurance, decent social security, and other programs of vital need to working people.

OHIO

CINCINNATI

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY ANSWERS 'TIME' MAGAZINE ON 'WHAT IS SOCIALISM?' Speaker: Dean Athans, SWP. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

CLEVELAND

LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE. Speaker: Joel Britton, national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party. Sun., April 16, 7 p.m. 13002 Kinsman. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

TOLEDO

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY SUIT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT: DEFENSE OF POLITICAL RIGHTS. Speaker: Morris Starsky, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., April 16, 7 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

OREGON

PORTLAND

THE 'BAKKE' DECISION: WHAT'S AT STAKE. Speakers: Salvador Ramirez, director, Colegio César Chavez; Sue Davis, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1. Ausp:

Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

TEXAS

DALLAS

APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speaker: Melvin Chappel, participant in Nashville protests against the Davis Cup. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

COINTELPRO—THE GOVERNMENT'S SPYING AGAINST MOVEMENTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE. Fri., April 21, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

NORTH HOUSTON

WOMEN STEELWORKERS SPEAK OUT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION ON THE JOB. Speakers to be announced. Fri., April 14, 7:30 p.m. 6412C N. Main (near Cavalcade). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 861-9842.

WISCONSIN

MILWAUKEE

STRUGGLE IN AFRICA'S HORN. Speakers: Norbert Francis, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

1934 Toledo auto strike

Forty-four years ago this month, a strike by auto parts workers in Toledo marked a turning point in the American class struggle. It is also a vital chapter in the history of the Trotskyist movement.

Like the coal miners today, the Toledo strikers were one of the first contingents of workers to stand up to an antilabor offensive by the bosses and capitalist government—and win.

The story of the Toledo strike is told by Art Preis in his history of the CIO, *Labor's Giant Step*. Preis was himself a leader of the battles in Toledo. He went on to become a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and for many years was labor editor of the *Militant*.

In 1934 the labor movement was still reeling from the shock of the Great Depression. Toledo was particularly hard hit. One out of every three people in this glass and auto parts center was thrown on relief.

Such misery was commonplace in the 1930s. What was different in Toledo was the organization of the jobless into the Lucas County Unemployed League, led by socialist followers of A. J. Muste. This group fused with the American Trotskyists later in 1934, helping to lay the foundation for the SWP.

In 1933 the league organized mass actions that won immediate cash relief for the unemployed.

It also frustrated the bosses' efforts to use the jobless as scabs by pursuing a policy of active solidarity between employed and unemployed. The league mobilized its members to support strikes and in so doing won union allies for its cause.

This was before the organization of industry-wide (rather than craft-divided) unions. The conservative, bureaucratic officials of the American Federation of Labor adamantly opposed industrial unionism. They allowed mass-production workers to join the AFL only in special "federal" locals, which were intended to be divided up as soon as possible among the craft unions.

Workers at the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite Company belonged to Federal Local 18384. On April 13, 1934, they walked off the job. And the Unemployed League rushed to their aid.

When company-loyal courts issued an injunction to limit picketing, local AFL leaders sounded the retreat. But not the union's ranks, and not the Unemployed League.

A strike delegation came to the league for assistance. The league had also been barred from picketing. But two of its officers, Ted Selander (see adjoining letter) and Sam Pollack, together with strike leaders, announced their intention to violate the injunction and organize mass picketing.

They and hundreds of other strikers and unemployed were hauled off the picket

line and into court—only to rejoin the lines after their release.

A letter the Unemployed League sent to the presiding judge captures the defiant spirit of the strikers and their allies.

"We believe that the spirit and intent of this arbitrary injunction is another specific example of an organized movement to curtail the rights of all workers . . . Therefore . . . we openly and publicly violate . . . [this] suppressive and oppressive act," the letter read.

By May 23 more than 10,000 were marching the picket line. The cops moved in with tear gas bombs and machine guns. But Toledo's workers fought back with anything at their disposal—bare hands, slingshots improvised from inner tubes, and bricks.

The pickets successfully beat back the cops and held the company scabs hostage inside the plant. The June 2 *Militant* reported, "One striker, looking up at the broken windows of the plant, remarked: 'They wanted an open shop—well, now they have it.'"

The government then dispatched 900 National Guardsmen to the scene. For six more days class war raged in Toledo.

Workers combined guerrilla-like attacks from rooftops, behind billboards, and through alleys, with political appeals to the young guardsmen to support the strike.

Women were an integral part of the strikers' army, both as combatants and soapbox agitators.

On May 24 the guardsmen opened fire on the strikers, killing two and wounding twenty-five. But 6,000 workers returned to their battle stations that same night.

Finally, on May 31, the troops were withdrawn. The following night 40,000 workers poured into a massive rally at the county courthouse demanding that the company surrender.

And surrender it did. The Electric Auto-Lite Company signed a six-month contract that recognized Local 18384 as the exclusive bargaining agent for its struck plants. The Toledo strikers had won the first contract under Roosevelt's National Recovery Act that ruled out "proportional representation" for company unions.

By uniting and standing firm against the bosses and the government's labor boards, courts, and armies, Toledo workers led the way toward the formation of the United Auto Workers and the organization of the CIO.

"The strike wave spreading throughout the country opens grandiose perspectives for the development of the class struggle on a new level," the *Militant* concluded after the Toledo victory.

"The place of militants now as ever is in the mass organizations of the workers where they can lead and guide their struggles." —Shelley Kramer

Letters

Enjoyed feminist review

One of the most attractive features of the *Militant* is your weekly "In Review" section. Recently I had the opportunity to see the film *One Sings the Other Doesn't*, a sensitive portrayal of two women's long standing relationship by artist and feminist Agnes Varda.

I had been waiting eagerly to see the film ever since I read Stacey Seigle's excellent review in the *Militant* (November 25, 1977). In her review Seigle states, "*One Sings* . . . is the story of women surviving. It reminds us that feminism stems from the everyday existence of women whose outrage at pain is born from a knowledge of beauty."

One Sings is a refreshing change, to say the least, from the stifling, unreal, insulting stereotyping of women by male writers and directors and a male-dominated film industry. The fact that this outstanding critique of an outstanding film about women appeared in the *Militant* is another example—along with its weekly coverage of feminist issues—of the paper's support and respect for the just struggles of women.

I greatly enjoyed Seigle's review. It prompted my curiosity to see this film and heightened my appreciation of it, as I'm sure must have been true for others as well.

Louise Haberbush
Portland, Oregon

Militant.] The FBI and CIA are untouchables, for they work for those running this country.

I've said these brief things to ask why you make it seem as though these things are surprising. Every law passed is passed against the majority. Yet there is truth in all the things you say about these organizations, for they are the playthings of the ruling class only, and answer to none other.

Continue to remove the cloak of ignorance about this system.
Leon Carswell
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania

Indian treaty rights

Congress is now debating a bill to abrogate the treaty rights of Native Americans (H.R. 9054, "Native Americans Equal Opportunity Act").

This legislation is but one more act in the play by the ruling class to protect its own economic and special interests. With the energy "crisis," the energy industry is eager to get its hands on the rich reserves of coal, shale oil, and uranium on reservation lands. Existing federal regulations prevent these corporations from leasing as much mineral land on Indian reservations as they would like.

By terminating the current status of federal Indian land—and turning it over to individual Indians or Indian corporations—big business would have an easier time purchasing this land.

Another provision of the bill targets federally recognized treaty rights of Native peoples to hunt and fish.

This so-called Native Americans Equal Opportunity

FBI & the law

As is always the case, the secret police of this country are not subjected to the laws they supposedly enforce. [See "The Law vs. the law," March 31

The following poem was sent to the 'Militant' by Ted Selander. Selander was a leader of the Lucas County Unemployed League in Toledo, which came to the aid of striking Auto-Lite workers in 1934 by joining their picket lines. For more coverage of the Auto-Lite strike and the role of the Unemployed League, see 'Our Revolutionary Heritage' column on this page.

The poem was written many years ago by a member of the United Mine Workers union.

The Scab's Lament

Dedicated to a Scab

I ought to get a heavenly reward
for never carrying a union card.
I've never grumbled, never struck,
I've never mixed with union "truck."

So I must be on the way to win,
Open up, St. Peter, and let me in!
St. Peter sat and stroked his staff
Despite high office he had to laugh.

Said he, with fiery gleam in eye,
"Who's tending the gate, you or I?
"I've heard of you and your gift of gab,
"You're known on earth as a lousy scab."

Therefore, he moved in his stature tall
And pressed a button upon the wall.
Said he to the imp who answered the bell,
"Escort Mr. Scab right down to hell."

"Tell Satan to given a seat alone
"On a red hot griddle up near the throne.
"But wait! Even the Devil can't stand the smell
"Of a cooking scab on a griddle in hell."

"It would cause a devilish strike, I know,
"If I sent you down to the imps below,
"So back to your master on earth to tell
"That they don't even want a scab in hell."

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JOIN THE SWP

'Thirst for education' in San Diego

The following is based on remarks by Roberta Scherr, organizer of the San Diego branch of the Socialist Workers Party, at a meeting of the SWP National Committee in late February.

The comment by Mary-Alice Waters about the growing "thirst for education" among the activists of the Socialist Workers Party today was very accurate (see "SWP Leaders Discuss Education" in the March 24 issue of the *Militant*).

We recently went through an experience in San Diego that reflected this. The results improved all our political work.

SWP and Young Socialist Alliance members began asking branch leaders for guidance on what they should read to learn more about socialism. This question made us review—and think about how to make better use of—the books and pamphlets carried in our local Pathfinder bookstore.

The branch had organized a class for new SWP members on *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* by Leon Trotsky (Pathfinder Press, 1977). I found that many longtime party members wanted to attend, since the branch at that time was not carrying out other educational activities.

Another way the thirst for education in the branch was reflected was through spontaneous discussions. Party and YSA members who were doing work in the branch headquarters began initiating discussions about political issues ranging from articles in the *Militant* to the Russian revolution. More and more people began to join in these animated discussions—YSA members would come from school to participate.

We realized that every member should have the opportunity to participate in discussions of our basic ideas, and we set out to organize this.

We planned an intensive class series in January on Stalinism—we called it Winter School. This was not seen as a substitute for weekly classes during the rest of the year but as the opening of a campaign to establish consistent branch educational activity.

Ensuring a successful series required careful planning. The branch executive committee decided to set up an education committee that included the branch organizer,

two other executive committee members, and other branch activists.

This was an important and necessary step.

All the books needed for the series were ordered from Pathfinder Press. When they arrived, they were displayed on a large table in the headquarters, so that everybody could browse through and purchase them.

Participants in the education committee met with all branch members. The committee scheduled the classes so that every member could attend.

It also discussed with each member the possibility of arranging a block of time that would be spent in reading the material suggested for the class—with no interruptions for other branch activity. The committee then called each member every week to see how their reading was progressing.

The result was a large attendance at the weekly class series. Virtually all the branch activists came.

I have never seen such a transformation in the life of a branch as took place after that educational series began. The growth of spirit and morale showed itself in increased attendance at branch meetings and all other party functions and activities.

Time spent in education did not detract from other activity. We became very enthusiastic about building the weekly forum series held at our headquarters. These forums are also a part of the SWP's educational work. Party members brought to the forums an average of twenty-five other people who were interested in socialist ideas. Members are eager to bring other people to forums because consistent educational activity has inspired them with new confidence in the politics of the party.

As a result of learning during the class series on Stalinism about the role of sailors in the Russian revolution, we thought of paying more attention to the large number of sailors in San Diego, which has a big naval base. We handed out leaflets at docks, with our bookstore hours.

One young sailor came to the bookstore. He bought a subscription to the *Militant*, and some other literature. Later he came to a campaign rally in Los Angeles with two shipmates. Now there is a small *Militant* readers' group afloat. Like the members of the San Diego branch of the SWP, sailors are learning more about socialism.

Act provides no equal opportunity. It is an attack on equal opportunity. The preamble of the bill itself reveals that. According to the preamble, the intent of the bill is to recognize "that in the U.S. no individual or group possesses subordinate or special rights"—except the bosses who can call out the troops against coal miners, who can take away women's rights to equal pay for equal work, and who can continue to take away rights of Native Americans to survive as culturally and politically sovereign people.

Kate Livingston
Albany, New York

Israel—more coverage

The *Militant* has done an excellent job covering the struggle of the Palestinians, especially in the three-page article by David Frankel in the January 27 issue.

There is a problem, however, in that many Jewish people who support the positions of the *Militant* on most other issues find the paper's position on Israel very hard to stomach.

After all, Jews have been brutally oppressed. Many well-meaning people today support the establishment and maintenance of the state of Israel as a solution to the long history of Jewish oppression.

Therefore, many who support Israel regard the *Militant's* position as anti-Semitic and as evidence of tacit support for the annihilation of Jews. Certainly this is not the case, either for the *Militant* or the Socialist Workers Party.

I think a detailed article on the struggle of the Jews is necessary, especially as it relates to the state of Israel. Why is Israel *not* in the best interests of Jewish people? What are the roots of Jewish oppression, and how can Jews successfully struggle against that oppression? What will happen to the Jews in Israel if the Palestinians win their rights? These are a few of the issues that can be dealt with.

Bob Laycock
Kent, Ohio

[In reply—Peter Seidman takes up many of these points in an article that appears on page 16 of this issue.

[Further reading on why the establishment of the state of Israel is no solution to the oppression of Jews is contained in the pamphlet *Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism* by Peter Seidman. Copies can be purchased for sixty cents from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.]

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

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COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 916 Broadway. Zip: 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358. Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Linda Thalman, 1303 Ocala Rd. #140. Zip: 32304. Tel: (904) 576-5737.

GEORGIA: East Atlanta: SWP, 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 17821. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 688-6739. West Atlanta: SWP, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040. Zip: 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, North Side: SWP, 1870 N. Halsted. Zip: 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811. Chicago, South Side: SWP, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 10 N. Cicero. Zip: 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621. Boston, Fenway-South End: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620. Roxbury: SWP, 612 Blue Hill Ave. Zip: 02121. Tel: (617) 288-0753.

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NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Albany: SWP, YSA, 103 Central Avenue. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 220-222 Utica Ave. Zip: 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250. New York, Chelsea: SWP, 200½ W. 24th St. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731.

New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 861-4166. Columbus:

YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 3928 N. Williams. Zip: 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

PENNSYLVANIA: Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia, Germantown: SWP, 5950 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19144. Tel: (215) 844-2874. Philadelphia, West Philadelphia: SWP, 218 S. 45th St. Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Philadelphia: City-wide SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St. Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Mickey van Summern, 402 S. Burrows #1A. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-9917.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station. Zip: 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2215 Cedar Crest. Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684. Houston, Northeast: SWP, YSA, 2835 Laura Koppe. Zip: 77093. Tel: (713) 697-5543. Houston, East End: SWP, 4987 South Park Blvd. (South Park Plaza). Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005. Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3311 Montrose. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1317 Castroville Rd. Zip: 78237. Tel: (512) 432-7625.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Adams-Morgan: SWP, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7706. Washington, D.C., Georgia Avenue: SWP, 700½ Barry Pl. NW. Zip: 20001. Tel: (202) 265-7708. Washington, D.C.: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 2200 E. Union. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99201. Tel: (509) 326-2468. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, P.O. Box 1484. Zip: 26505.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

JOB FOR ALL

How labor can win a shorter workweek

The following is a statement by Robin Mace, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan. Mace is a member of United Auto Workers Local 900.

The April 11 All Unions' Conference to Shorten the Work Week can open an important discussion in the labor movement: how to provide jobs for all by shortening the workweek.

The idea is simple and just. Divide all available work among all those who need a job, while maintaining forty-hour pay protected by effective escalator clauses.

This is the only way out for the millions of unemployed and for the millions more who labor under the constant fear of layoffs.

A shorter workweek would mean an end to the inhuman regime of forced over-time for some while others go hungry. It would mean an increase in the leisure time of all working people.

It would lay the basis for healing the divisions unemployment promotes—competition for jobs between the old and young, women and men, Black and white. The labor movement would thus be strengthened and better able to fight for other needed changes.

Full employment would mean that workers with skills to contribute would no longer be discarded like so much scrap. The immense productive capacity of this society could begin to be put to human advantage.

What stands in the way of achieving this? The bosses and their profit greed.

They claim they just can't afford to provide workers with jobs at a decent wage. In other words, they refuse to give up a cent of their exorbitant profits—profits created by the sweat of workers themselves, including the millions thrown out of their jobs and now condemned as "shiftless and lazy."

The bosses have made their choice—profits before human needs. It's time for working people to make ours.

The employers, the Democratic and Republican politicians, and the big-business news media all try to con-

vince us that jobs for all is a utopia—that's why they are claiming that a 5 or 6 percent jobless rate is "full employment."

Clearly our first task is to counter their lies by explaining to millions of workers the importance, necessity, and real possibility of ending unemployment through a shorter workweek. The Detroit All Unions' Conference can provide a launching pad for a campaign to spread the word into every union.

Establishing union committees, holding educational meetings, passing resolutions are all steps that can bring the issue of the shorter workweek into the life of our unions.

By raising this demand in contract negotiations, we can win concessions that will add momentum to the struggle.

But shortening the workweek in a way that maintains wages and creates jobs cannot be securely won in a single industry or by a single union.

It is a measure that needs to be instituted across the board, nationwide, by changes in the hours and wages laws. And that calls for mobilizing the combined strength of the union and their allies into a political movement.

The bosses' parties, the Democrats and Republicans, are dead set against this. These parties are paid servants of the capitalist class.

Whatever the real or pretended differences between individual politicians, they all share this view: what's good for business is good for America. Even if that means misery for the majority of Americans.

This is why the best these politicians have come up with is the Humphrey-Hawkins hoax. Here is a bill that promises full employment without creating a single new job!

Carter claims the way to create jobs is through "incentives" to business—paid for by the taxpayers—to hire workers. We've already seen how much working people gain from the billions of dollars of tax giveaways, write-offs,



Militant/Tom O'Brien

loans, and other favors the bosses receive from their government. Nothing.

Workers need our own political weapon to fight for the shorter workweek—our own political party.

A party of labor would unite all those with a stake in ending unemployment—unionists, the unemployed, youth, women, Blacks, and all communities of the oppressed nationalities.

A labor party would put the interests of working people first—not last like the Democrats and Republicans do.

It would lead a fight to open the books of the employers so workers can see the lies, hidden profits, tax swindles, and graft of the corporations.

It would not hesitate to demand that businesses that "cannot afford" decent wages and shorter hours for their employees be nationalized by the government and run by workers themselves.

And it would fight to take the bil-

lions of dollars now spent on war and death and use them to promote life—through a program of public works to rebuild the cities.

A labor party would be a new and different kind of party. It would not be run by an elite group of fat-cat politicians but would be democratically controlled by the workers themselves.

And it would not talk about jobs only when elections roll around but would campaign for a shorter workweek all year long—in the unions, in the organizations of the oppressed, among the unemployed, in the news media, and through large public actions.

This is the kind of mass political movement workers need to win a shorter workweek.

That's why I and the other Socialist Workers Party candidates across the country will be campaigning for a shorter workweek and an independent labor party throughout the 1978 elections.

Coal mines: the killing goes on

By Andy Rose

There's blood on the coal . . . again.

Five men were killed April 4 in a Bucu, Virginia, mine owned by Pittston Coal.

The same day, a mine worker at Consolidation Coal's Humphrey mine in Morgantown, West Virginia, was crushed between two railroad cars and killed.

That averages out to nearly one death in the mines each working day since the United Mine Workers strike ended.

Six more grief-stricken families join the thousands of others in the coalfields.

That's just the way it is, the coal companies say. Mining is hazardous work. Accidents happen. Human error. We do the best we can.

Yes, the coal bosses do their best. *They do their best to increase production and profits, no matter how many miners they kill in the process.*

That's why safety was a top issue in the recent strike.

The companies set out to cripple the power of union safety committees, stall mine safety inspections, cut training periods for new miners. They

wanted to introduce incentive-pay speedup plans so miners could be compelled to risk their lives for a few extra dollars.

Above all, the companies demanded the right to fire any miner who joined an "unauthorized" strike, no matter what the justification.

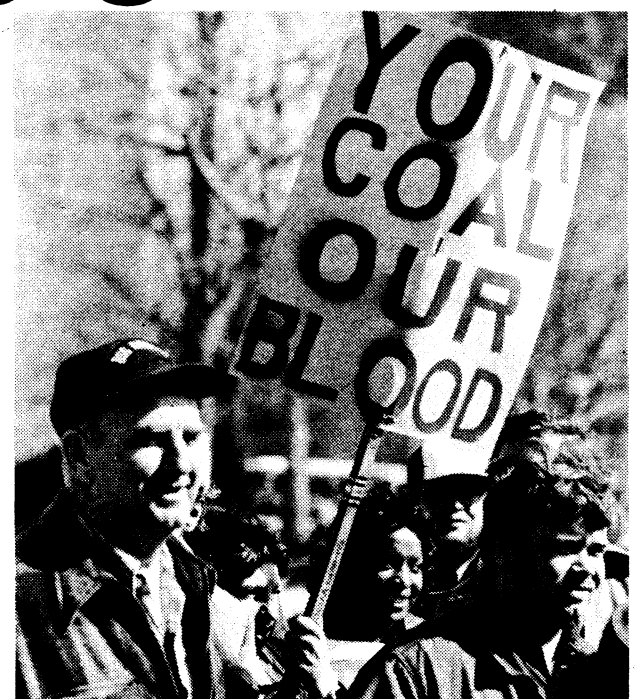
And the miners? They wanted to defend and expand the rights of their safety committees. And they wanted the right to strike to enforce safe working conditions.

The 110-day strike didn't settle the question. The coal bosses had to back down on most of their demands. But miners didn't win the right to strike. So the struggle for safety in the mines continues. And so do the deaths.

President Carter also calls for higher productivity in the mines. It's necessary to his national energy plan, he says. During the UMW strike he showed what this plan really means when he tried to force the miners back to work on company terms.

Carter calls his energy plan the "moral equivalent of war."

But it's coal miners who do the dying.



Militant/Nancy Cole